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E. L. GARVIN & Co

PUBLISHERS



THREE DOLLARS A YEAR

"AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM."

PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

OFFICE { 4 Barclay-St.
Astor Building.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1845.

VOL. 6. No. 8.

MY GRAVE.

[The following verses are given by the *Dublin Nation* as one of the earliest pieces which came from the pen of its late editor, Thomas Davis, Esq., whose sudden and unexpected decease has lately taken place.]

Shall they bury me in the deep,
Where wild forgetting waters sleep?
Shall they dig a grave for me
Under the greenwood tree?
Or on the wild heath,
Where the wilder breath
Of the storm doth blow?
Oh, no! oh, no!

Shall they bury me in the palace tombs,
Or under the shade of cathedral domes?
Sweet 'twere to lie on Italy's shore;
Yet not there—nor in Greece, though I love it more.
In the wolf or the vulture my grave shall I find?
Shall my ashes career on the world-seeing wind?
Shall they fling my corpse in the battle mound,
Where countless thousands lie under the ground—
Just as they fall they are buried so?
Oh, no! oh, no!

No! on an Irish green hill-side,
On an opening lawn—but not too wide;
For I love the drip of the wetted trees—
I love not the gales, but a gentle breeze,
To freshen the turf; put no tomb-stone there,
But green sod decked with daisies fair;
Nor sods too deep; but so that the dew
The matted grass-roots may trickle through.
Be my epitaph writ on my country's mind,
'He served his country, and loved his kind.'
Oh! 'twere sweet unto the grave to go,
If one were sure to be buried so.

SHY MEN.

Individuals are often judged of very erroneously from their external and ordinary demeanour. Of a particular class of misjudgments I am peculiarly assured, namely, those relating to men who have the reputation of being reserved through pride. In a large proportion of such cases, it is not any form of pride which produces the reservedness, but the opposite quality of shyness. It is the defect of self-esteem, rather than an undue endowment of it, that causes the conduct complained of.

Among the persons known to me as friends and associates, I could point to a number who are usually considered as proud men, and to whom it is customary to attach the—of late much misused—epithet aristocratic; while I know, with all possible certainty, that the real cause of the conduct and demeanour which obtains them this character, is nothing else than mere timidity of face. You may meet one of these men in company, and after a little time get into easy and familiar converse with him; yet, next day, encountering him in the street, and expecting a frank recognition, will be frozen by the most distant bow. You set him down as a cold proud man, too much absorbed in self to have any sympathies with you; but the fact is, that he has a boy-like shyness, which makes the usual courtesies of life a burden to him, and he only passes you in this reserved manner because he could not address you without an embarrassment painful in itself, and which would leave him in a state of self-humiliation, doubling that pain twice over. Thus, what you deem an assumption of superiority on his part, is in reality a silent confession of the most distressing weakness.

A Scottish peer, who died a few years ago in the prime of life, was unpopular from this cause. Alike to equals and inferiors, to country neighbours and to tenants, he appeared a freezing aristocrat. But there was no absolute want of a kindly nature in this gentleman. He was only oppressed with constitutional shyness. One of our late sovereigns, spending a morning at his father's house during his youth, the children of the family were ordered to be prepared to be formally introduced to the king. When the time came, all were found duly ready for the introduction, except the eldest son. He—the hope of the house—had been missing all morning, and could nowhere be found. The venerable Earl had the mortification of bringing his young flock under the eye of royalty without its chief ornament: the awkwardness of his apology for the absence of Lord —, may be imagined. In reality, the young nobleman had secretly left home at an early hour, for the express purpose of avoiding the dreaded ceremony; nor did he reappear till some time after the royal guest had departed. On succeeding, a few years after, to his titles and large estates and influence, his natural shyness experienced no abatement; and it had the effect of, in a great measure, neutralising his high social and political rank. To convey an idea of the extremity of the case—he was one day driving with a friend over the estates of a neighbour, when his currier broke down. An honest farmer, seeing the distress of the party, came up to offer the horse he was riding upon, and another from a neighbouring field, for their use. The Earl's companion accepted the offer with thanks; but the noble himself stalked aside, and took up a position at a little distance. There he waited till the horse was brought to him; there he mounted it; and then he rode off without having said a single word to the worthy man who was putting himself to inconvenience on his account. The farmer, it may be believed, was astonished; but there cannot be the shade of a doubt that this strange conduct was the consequence of mere shyness, or an inability to enter upon a few graceful common-

places, which to another man would not have cost one moment's thought or pain.

The character of a late English noble was felt to be a great puzzle, in as far as, professing the extreme of liberalism in politics, he was observed to be practically "aristocratic" far beyond the most conservative of his contemporaries. It is said of him that, in his own house, the servants had instructions to avoid, as far as possible, meeting him in staircases and passages; whence it was inferred that he disliked the very sight of his humbler fellow-creatures. I know not how the case might actually be; but from others which have come under my immediate observation, I think it by no means unlikely that Lord — was only shy, not proud. He was perhaps one of those to whom greetings are intolerable, and from whom a "Good morning" is wrong like gold from a miser. The great mass of the humble can hardly form an idea of the difficulties experienced, through this cause, by some of those whom they consider as men of consequence. A gentleman occupying one of the highest offices in the country, and in the enjoyment of great public respect, on account of the manner in which he discharges his important functions—a man equally sound in judgment and kindly in the affairs of private life—this gentleman, to the knowledge of the present writer, often uses efforts to pass his friends in the street without being seen by them. A colleague in office, who for half the year sits several hours every day in the same room with him, states that he had often found himself on the point of encountering — in the course of a country walk, when he had observed him deliberately quit the footpath, and cross to the opposite side of the road, where he would stand looking over a hedge, affecting to take an interest in the landscape, or some object near or remote, until he thought his friend would be past, when he would quietly return to the footpath and resume his walk, thus accomplishing what?—nothing but the avoidance of a kindly greeting with his colleague and friend! Such a fact will to many appear incredible; but its value consists in its strict truth, and its serving to illustrate a disposition of mind which, though hitherto little noticed, is only a too painful reality.

Shy men are generally persons of a diffident and amiable character—often possessed of a fine taste and nice moral feelings. They shrink from society and from individual rencontres, very much because of a certain over-delicacy of nature, which makes the common bustle of life unpleasant to them. Another element of their case, is a deficiency of mere animal spirits. In their ordinary moments, they lack the backing of excitement to force their minds into active and healthy play. Laxly screwed, the strings refuse to twang, and the men start back, not from the sound themselves have made, but from the absence of all sound. A sense of the dull unvital state of their minds reacts upon them in producing greater embarrassment, and the more they keep out of society, the more unfitted for it do they become. Sometimes a chance plunge into life, or an impulse from the contiguity of a bustling friend, will waken up a little energy in them, and for a while they will feel the comfort of a healthy normal state of mind. But when the external stimulus has spent its force, or been removed, they sink back into their unmanly timidity, and cheat the gleam of hope which their friends had begun to entertain. Usually, these men are altogether misunderstood by the world, being thought haughty when they are in reality modest, and cold and repelling when they may perhaps be glowing with benevolence to all mankind. At the best, they are regarded as odd and uncalculable persons, and find their best and noblest qualities insufficient to protect them from the neglect which must ever be the fate of men of unpopular manners, however deserving of esteem.

Wherever the persons thus characterised are liable to any kind of external influence, it were well that their case should be properly understood and treated. The tendency of the patient himself—for a patient he should be considered—is to retreat from the society which is painful to him, into still deeper obscurity, and there foster the disease which preys upon him. He should, on the contrary, be tempted by all fair means into the bustle of the world, and induced, if possible, to take an interest in its affairs. Even a liking for its frivolities might, in such a case, be redemption from worse evil. When friends have any influence in proposed matrimonial arrangements, they should seek to unite the victim of shyness to a person of cheerful social nature instead of to one who, while deemed perhaps more solid, might be apt, by less gay and active disposition, to lead to further restraints being imposed. In children the incipient manifestations of the malady might be met by the encouragement of active sports and social habits. Above all, it is important that the victim be not left to himself, or thrown into the hands of persons of sombre tempers. Disheartening views of individual merits, and of human nature generally, must also be deeply injurious.

The facts here brought forward ought to warn us against rash-judging from external appearances. The heart of man is a thing of infinite contrarieties; and often where we think ourselves surest of the ground on which we are forming an estimate, we are at the remotest point from the truth. Let us make a rule of pausing when we are asked to condemn a man for his pride, whether as an incidental demonstration or a habitual characteristic. Where we think there is disdain, there is perhaps only a pitiable embarrassment, arising from natural and irresistible awkwardness. Nor may we even be sure, where we see a somewhat forward or over-confident manner, that we are not contemplating the effects of this same foible, for it is natural to assume one vicious manner in order to escape the tendency to another, and a decisiveness, however constrained, may seem to the victim a blessed exchange from the pain of a habitual vacillation.

ADVENTURE OF AN ENGLISH CARLIST.

During the summer of 183—, Don Carlos took up his quarters in an old ruined Carlist castle in the valley of the Bidasoa, in Navarre. The king occupied a

room which had escaped the general wreck, while his ministers, generals, and agents, lodged as they best might. The soldiery, such as they were at that time, were scattered over the country, sleeping under hedges, in groves, or, in some few instances, occupying the huts and farm-houses of the Navarrese. I slept in the remnant of a stone kitchen, near the ruined gate of the castle. A pile of straw, with my cloak, formed my bed, with my saddle-bags for a pillow, and there was I disposed, ruminating over the events of the day, and endeavouring to snatch a portion of rest, which I much required. My position in Don Carlos's establishment will explain itself in the course of my narrative: I need only here mention that I had been, at the date I now write, about three years in his service, and a great portion of the time in constant and confidential communication with the claimant to the throne of Spain, Charles V.

I lay on my bed, I have said, and had gradually dropped off into a happy state of oblivion, when I heard the heavy tramp of a spurred and booted foot approaching along the stone passage that led to the kitchen. The sound of footsteps ringing in the deserted halls of the castle woke me at once to consciousness; my slumbers being soon further dissipated by the sound of a rough voice calling for Don G—. Springing on my feet, and clutching sword and pistol, I answered the call, and next moment one of the lancers composing the royal body-guard stood before me. "His majesty, signor," said the soldier, uncovering himself, "commands your presence immediately." I signified my readiness to obey, though displeased at the whim that robbed me of my sleep, and followed the messenger, who bore in his hand a wretched oil-lamp, which scarcely sufficed to illumine the long dark passage sufficiently to save me from tumbling against the scattered stones and rubbish which encumbered them.

At length a sentry at a door in the only clear passage of the castle proclaimed the king's apartment. I knocked, and received an instant summons to enter. The room was of the usual bare description, but vast in its dimensions. A bed stood in one corner, very little better than that which I have above described. At a table sat the king, writing by the light of two oil lamps. I advanced, and, according to custom, knelt and kissed his hand. He rose and spoke, with one hand resting on the table, and the other hanging by his side. "Don G—, when will you be ready to proceed to Paris?" "At once, sire," I replied. The king smiled, and said, "Many thanks; to-morrow morning will be time enough. Be ready then. There are your instructions. You will have an escort to the frontier. Once there, you will act on your own responsibility. Somehow or other you must reach Paris without exciting suspicion: thence you will proceed to the Hague, and return to Spain with despatches. I know your ability in these matters: I trust all the details to you." After a few more verbal instructions, Don Carlos gave me his hand to kiss, smiled most graciously, promised never to forget my zeal in his service, and dismissed me to his minister's room, where the despatches lay. I received these important papers, and once more retired to my old stone kitchen, rest having become now still more necessary to me. The task was no easy one. As an agent of Don Carlos, the French government would certainly stop me, if I should fall into their hands. My despatches I was sure to lose in the event of discovery, and their contents would be instantly made known to the Christino party. With this conviction, I felt the necessity of using every available precaution to avoid being arrested in France.

At dawn I was on foot, and equipped for the journey, while a party of twenty lancers, in their gallant and picturesque costume, awaited my orders. We started immediately, and halted only when, having crossed the Pyrenees, we reached the banks of the Bidassoa. While yet on Spanish ground, I dismounted from my mule, and assuming the costume of a Basque peasant, dismissed my escort. I was now alone, with France before me: I was unarmed; while a purse and my despatches were as carefully concealed as possible. While awaiting the disappearance of my Spanish lancers, I sat down and endeavoured to mature my plan of operations. I had no passport. Three documents of that nature, made out in three several names, were at my lodgings at Bayonne. I knew that, were I made a prisoner, my passport would be at once taken from me; whereas, if found without that necessary protection, I should have leisure to decide upon which of my three characters I should assume. It will be seen at once what a precarious and anxious life is that of a secret diplomatic agent.

The bridge near Zugamurdi lay about a mile below: but my policy was to swim the Bidassoa. Accordingly, no sooner was my escort out of sight, than I approached the water's edge, looked carelessly up and down the opposite banks, and seeing no sign of any living being, plunged in, and made for a spot fringed with thick bushes. A brief space of time brought me within twenty feet of the French shores, when, quick as thought, two gun barrels were protruded from amid the bushes, and I was summoned to surrender. In two minutes more I was in the safe keeping of a couple of douaniers—armed custom-house officers. "Ha! ha! Carlist," said one of these whiskered gentlemen; "we've caught you, have we?" "I at once threw aside all idea of disguise, and played the Englishman. "Gentlemen," said I, quietly eyeing my two antagonists, "take care what you are about. I am an English gentleman rambling about for my amusement; beware how you offer me any insult." "If monsieur is an Englishman, he has of course a passport?" "Unfortunately I have left it at Bayonne." This of course led them to suppose that my residence was at Bayonne, the very object for which I had lodgings there. "Well, sir," said they, "Englishman or not, we find you crossing the Bidassoa in a suspicious manner. You have no passport, and it is our imperative duty to take you before the maire." I made no opposition to this command; and away they started with me, walking one on each side, to their quarters. The beginning of my journey, though unpropitious, was, however, exactly as I expected.

On reaching the maire, we found the maire not at home, and I was unceremoniously walked into the public room of an auberge, the solitary window of which overlooked a paved yard, with very high walls, composed of loose stones. I seated myself at a table, and at once, on the plea of my walk and the consequent hunger, ordered dinner, inviting the douaniers to join me. The invitation was immediately accepted; and from that instant the worthy satellites of the customhouse treated me with the utmost deference. After dinner, I ordered brandy and cigars; but feigning not to smoke myself demanded permission, while they were inhaling the weed, to walk up and down the yard. To this my now merry guardians made not the slightest objection, and into the yard I went. To escape was impossible; besides, the very fact of my doing so, would have been betraying my secret. My object in entering the yard was far otherwise. After talking some time through the window with the douaniers, and when I saw clearly that the wine and brandy had somewhat confused their intellects, I seized a favourable opportunity, removed a stone from the wall, thrust my despatches therein, and returned the stone to its place. My heart was now as light as a feather—my despatches were safe.

Shortly after dinner I was taken before the maire, and questioned. With him I assumed a higher tone than with the douaniers; said I was an Englishman, as he could well see; complained bitterly of having been arrested while

pursuing my pleasure; and demanded imperatively to be taken to Bayonne, where my passport was, and where my friend the maire would satisfy them as to my innocence. The words, "my friend, the maire of Bayonne," startled the worthy magistrate, who became excessively polite; and in a few minutes more I was on my road to that town. The maire of Bayonne was my friend, but under circumstances which I cannot here explain. I little knew, however, that the government suspected him of being a Carlist.

On arriving at my destination, I went with the douanier to the street in which my lodgings were situated—induced him to wait outside—and in a very few minutes again stood before him in the costume of an English gentleman, and with my passport in my pocket. The maire was at home—immediately satisfied the douanier—vised my passport for Paris; and I was at once placed, without any difficulty, in the very best position possible, not being supposed to have come from Spain at all. Under this comfortable impression I returned with the douanier, secretly obtained my despatches, and booked myself in the diligence for Paris direct. But the little maire had his suspicions still, and next day the telegraph was at work; and long before I reached Paris, the fact of my being on my road there was known, and a plan of operations decided on. The little maire was too cunning for me.

Unconscious of this circumstance, I left the diligence at the messageries of Lafite and Gaillard, with my little valise under my arm, and immediately retired to a bed-room, there to wash off the dust and other marks incident to a long journey, preparatory to dining. I had been in the room five minutes, and had, luckily, not opened my valise, when I heard a polite knock at the door. Perfectly unprepared, I opened the door, and one glance told me the intruder was a commissary of police. I knew my fate hung on a word—a look; and, young diplomatist as I was, I acted with a presence of mind which since has many times astonished me. "Mr. —?" said he, politely mentioning my name. "Mr. — is up stairs at No. —," said I, without flinching, at the same time smiling most benignly. "Oh, ten thousand pardons, Monsieur, for the mistake: what number did you say, sir?" I repeated the number; the commissary of police thanked me, re-entered the passage, and began quietly to ascend the stairs. Before he had reached the summit of the flight, I was in the street with my valise in my hand. With such a police as Paris can boast of, to have taken a *fiacre* or cab would have been to betray my hiding-place at once. I therefore hurried along on foot, plunged into the *cité*, reached as low a neighbourhood as I could find, and entered a house of very suspicious character, where, however, I was quite safe until dark. Here I dined; and as soon as night came on, sallied forth in search of a more safe place of concealment.

In a street in the Quartier Latin, some months before, I had often spent an evening with a very clever, but very poor young artist. We had been great cronies, and to him I determined to apply for shelter for the night. With some difficulty I found the house, and being admitted to the porter's lodge, inquired for Monsieur Jules Victor. "Au quatrième,"—[On the fourth floor,] said the laconic Cerberus, and up the stair I at once sallied. After a journey up a narrow and dark flight of stairs, I reached the desired door, and knocked:—"Entrez," said a soft female voice. I started, but still obeyed the summons, and found myself in the presence of a very pretty and neatly-dressed young Frenchwoman. "This is Monsieur Victor's apartment, I believe?" said I with some hesitation. "It is; he will be here directly. Will monsieur be seated?" said she with a most engaging smile. I seated myself, and Victor instantly came out of the adjoining chamber. "Delighted to see you, my dear fellow; what earthquake has cast you up? But excuse me; allow me to introduce you to Madame Victor—Madame Victor, Monsieur —!" This announcement rather disarranged my plans; but determined to make a trial, I sat down, and at once told my story, concluding by casting a sly look at madame, and saying, "Had you been a bachelor, I meant to beg half your bed?" "And of course now you will stay?" said madame kindly; "we will do the best we can for you."

This point settled, I rose from my chair, and drawing my passport from my pocket, burned it quietly before them. Very much surprised, they inquired the reason, which, however, was obvious—that I could no longer travel under my own name, and another had become absolutely necessary. I spent a most pleasant evening with this worthy and kind couple; amused them with my multifarious adventures; and next morning sallied forth to call on an intimate English friend. With him I could not be explicit; but, after the ordinary topics which occur to men meeting after an absence of some duration, I said, "I have lost my passport. Will you go to the English embassy with me, and vouch for my respectability?" "Certainly." "But will you be quite silent with regard to my real appellation? My name is Henry Seymour!" He started. "I do not ask you to say my name is Henry Seymour, but simply to say you know me." Though very much surprised, he agreed; and away we went to the English embassy. We saw the usual official—the usual questions were asked—my friend vouched for my respectability. I mentioned that I had lost my passport. A new one was made out at once; and after the usual particulars, the official said, "What name?" "Henry Seymour." "Where last from?" "Calais."

That night, after transacting my business in Paris, and perfectly satisfied with the neat manner in which I had eluded the vigilance of the police, I was on my road to Brussels. But the eternal telegraph was at work. Ere I was half-way on my road, the deceit I had practised was suspected, and intelligence transmitted, with orders to watch me closely. On arriving at Brussels I gave up my passport, and in an hour afterwards called for it at the police-office. The commissary eyed me in a hesitating manner, quite sufficient to awaken alarm, and told me to call next morning. This was enough for me: I knew at once that I was suspected.

I must here mention that Belgium and Holland were at war—the former being, with France, opposed to the Carlist dynasty, and the latter in secret league with Don Carlos. My plan of operations was at once decided on. I left the hotel (*the Grand Laboureur*) at which I had taken up my quarters, and fixed myself in a cabaret. As soon as night came, I sent for one of the common carts of the country, and offered the driver a handsome sum to get me across the frontier. "But you will be taken prisoner, sir," said he. The very thing I want, I thought to myself. I contented myself, however, with saying that I would risk the danger. Tempted by the somewhat brilliant offer I made him, he agreed, and I mounted the cart, lay down on a pile of straw, threw my cloak over me, and in a very short time was fast asleep. Having scarcely had a proper night's rest since I left Spain, my slumber was heavy and unbroken, and I only woke when challenged by the Dutch sentinels. I at once knew that I was within the lines of the Hollanders, and demanded to be taken before the distinguished general in command. His name, and what passed between us, I cannot now reveal; suffice that I instantly received a pass, and reached the Hague without farther molestation.

My despatches presented, and my mission fulfilled, I sailed for England, and thence took ship again for Spain. Such was my adventure—one of many which I underwent when in the secret diplomatic service of Don Carlos. What the exact object of my journey was, it is not for me to reveal; suffice it, however, that my return was hailed with delight, as I brought with me that from the want of which monarch and peasant equally suffer—Gold.

HUMBOLDT.

[Concluded]

Many hairbreadth escapes, and heroic adventures are recounted by the natives, which would pass for fabulous if not stated on such unquestionable authority as that of M. Humboldt, and supported by the concurring testimony of other travellers. The number of alligators, in particular, on the Orinoco, the Rio Apure, and their tributary streams, is prodigious; and contests with them constitute a large portion of the legendary tales of the Indian and European settlers in the forest.

"The numerous wild animals," says Humboldt, "which inhabit the forest on the shores of the Orinoco, have made apertures for themselves in the wall of vegetation and foliage by which the woods are bounded, out of which they come forth to drink in the river. Tigers, tapirs, jaguars, boars, besides numberless lesser quadrupeds, issue out of these dark arches in the green wilderness, and cross the strip of sand which generally lies between it and the edge of the water, formed by the large space which is annually devastated and covered with shingle or mud, during the rise of the water in the rainy season. These singular scenes have always possessed a great attraction for me. The pleasure experienced was not merely that of a naturalist in the objects of his study; it belongs to all men who have been educated in the habits of civilization. You find yourself in contact with a new world, with savage and unconquered Nature. Sometimes it is the jaguar, the beautiful panther of America, which issues from its dark retreat; at others the hocco, with its dark plumes and curved head, which traverses the *sauzo* as the band of yellow sand is called. Animals of the most various kinds and opposite descriptions succeed each other without intermission. "Es como en el Paraiso." (It is as in Paradise.) said our pilot, an old Indian of the Missions. In truth, every thing here recalls that primitive world of which the traditions of all nations have preserved the recollection, the innocence, and happiness; but on observing the habits of the animals towards each other, it is evident that the age of gold has ceased to them as well as to the human race; they mutually fear and avoid each other; and in the lonely American forests, as elsewhere, long experience has taught all living beings that gentleness is rarely united to force."

"When the sands on the river side are of considerable breadth, the *sauzo* often stretches to a considerable distance from the water's edge. It is on this intermediate space that you see the crocodiles, often to the number of eight or ten, stretched on the sand. Motionless, their huge jaws opened at right angles, they lie without giving any of those marks of affection which are observable in other animals which live in society. The troop separate when they leave the coast; they are probably composed of several females and one male. The former are much more numerous than the latter, from the number of males which are killed in fighting during the time of their amours. These monstrous reptiles have multiplied to such a degree, that there was hardly an instant during our voyage along the whole course of the river that we had not five or six in view. We measured one dead which was lying on the sand; it was six teen feet nine inches long. Soon after, Mr. Bonpland found a dead male on the shore, measuring twenty-two feet three inches. Under every zone—in America as in Egypt—this animal attains the same dimensions. The Indians told us, that at San Fernando scarce a year passes without two or three grown up persons, usually women who are drawing from the river, being devoured by these carnivorous lizards.

"They related to us an interesting story of a young daughter of Urituen, who, by extraordinary intrepidity and presence of mind, succeeded in extricating herself from the very jaws of a crocodile. When she felt herself seized by the voracious animal in the water, she felt for its eyes, and thrust her fingers into them with such violence that she forced the animal to let go, but not before he had torn off the lower part of her left arm. The Indian girl, notwithstanding the enormous quantity of blood which she lost, succeeded in swimming to shore with the hand which was left, and escaped without further injury. In those desert regions, where man is constantly in strife with animated or inanimated nature, they daily speak of similar or corresponding means by which it is possible to escape from a tiger, a great boa, or a crocodile. Every one prepares himself against a danger which may any day befall him. 'I knew,' said the young girl calmly, when praised for her presence of mind, 'that the crocodile lets go his hold when you plunge your fingers in his eyes.' Long after my return to Europe, I learned that the negroes in the interior of Africa make use of the same method to escape from the alligators in the Niger. Who does not recollect with warm interest, that Isaac the guide, in his last journey of the unfortunate Mungo Park, was seized twice near Bouloumboro, and that he escaped from the throat of the monster solely by thrusting his fingers into his two eyes? The African Isaac and the young American girl owed their safety to the same presence of mind, and the same combination of ideas."

—(Vol. vi. 203, 205.)

If there is any one fact more than another demonstrated by the concurring testimony of travellers, historians, and statistical observers, in all ages and quarters of the world, it is, that the possession of *property in land* is the first step in social improvement, and the only effectual humanizer of Savage Man. Rousseau's famous paradox, "the Man who enclosed a field, and called it mine, is the author of all the social ills which followed," is not only false but decidedly the reverse of the truth. He was the first and greatest benefactor of his species. Subsequent ills have arisen, not from following but forgetting his example; and preferring to the simplicity of country life the seductions and vices of urban society. Humboldt adds his important testimony to the noble army of witnesses in all ages, and from all parts of the world, on this all important subject.

"The Guanos are a race of Indians whom it is extremely difficult to fix down to the soil. Like other wandering savages, they are distinguished by their dirt, revengeful spirit, and fondness of wandering. The greater part of them live by fishing and the chase, in the plains often flooded by the Apure, the Meta, and the Guaviare. The nature of those regions, their vast extent, and entire want of any limit or distinguishing mark, seems to invite their inhabitants to a wandering life. On entering, again, the mountains which adjoin the cataracts of the Orinoco, you find among the Piroas, the Macos, and the Macquirares, milder manners, a love of agriculture, and remarkable clean-

liness in the interior of their cabins. On the ridges of mountains, amidst impenetrable forests, man is forced to fit himself, to clear and cultivate a corner of the earth. That culture demands little care, and is richly rewarded; while the life of a hunter is painful and difficult. The Guenos of the Mission of Santa Barbara are kind and hospitable; whenever we entered their cottages, they offered us dried fish and water."—(Vol. vi. 219.)

No spectacle in nature can exceed, few equal, the sublimity and magnificence of the scenery presented by the vast chain of mountains which under the name of Cordilleras, Andes, and Rocky Mountains, traverses the whole continent of America, both north and south, in the neighbourhood of the Pacific Ocean. Of this prodigious pile of rocks and precipices, Humboldt, in another of his works, has given the following admirable account:—

"The immense chain of the Andes traversing its whole extent near the Pacific Ocean, has stamped a character upon South American nature which belongs to no other country. The peculiarity which distinguishes the regions which belong to this immense chain, are the successive plateaux, like so many huge natural terraces, which rise one above another, before arriving at the great central chain, where the highest summits are to be found. Such is the elevation of some of these plains that they often exceed eight and nine, and sometimes reach that of twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea. The lowest of these plateaux is higher than the summit of the Pass of the Great St Bernard, the highest inhabited ground in Europe, which is 7545 feet above the level of the sea. But such is the benignity of the climate, that at these prodigious elevations, which even in the south of Europe are above the line of perpetual snow, are to be found cities and towns, cornfields and orchards, and all the symptoms of rural felicity. The town of Quito itself, the capital of a province of the same name, is situated on a plateau, or elevated valley, in the centre of the Andes, nearly 9000 feet above the level of the sea. Yet there are found concentrated a numerous population, and it contains cities with thirty, forty, and even fifty thousand inhabitants. After living some months on this elevated ground, you experience an extraordinary illusion. Finding yourself surrounded with pasture and corn fields, flocks and herds, smiling orchards and golden harvests, the sheep and the lama, the fruits of Europe and those of America, you forget that you are as it were suspended between heaven and earth, and elevated to a height exceeding that by which the European traveller makes his way from France into Italy, and double that of Ben Nevis, the highest mountain in Great Britain.

"The different gradations of vegetation, as might be expected in a country where the earth rises from the torrid zone by a few steep ascents to the regions of eternal congelation, exhibit one of the most remarkable features in this land of wonders. From the borders of the sea to the height of two thousand feet, are to be seen the magnificent palm tree, the musa, the heliconia, the balsam of Tolu, the large flowering jacinth, the date tree, and all the productions of tropical climates. On the arid and burning shores of the ocean, flourish, in addition to these, the cotton tree, the mangolias, the cactus, the sugar cane, and all the luscious fruits which ripen under the genial sun, and amidst the balmy breezes of the West Indian Islands. One only of these tropical children of nature, the *Caryocaulon Andicola*, is met with far in advance of the rest of its tribe, tossed by the winds at the height of seven and eight thousand feet above the sea, on the middle ridges of the Cordillera ranges. In this lower region, as nature exhibits the riches, so she has spread the pestilence, of tropical climates. The humidity of the atmosphere, and the damp heats which are nourished amidst its intricate thickets, produce violent fevers, which often prove extremely destructive, especially to European constitutions. But if the patient survives the first attack, the remedy is at hand; a journey to the temperate climate of the elevated plateau soon restores health; and the sufferer is as much revived by the gales of the Andes, as the Indian valetudinarian is by a return to Europe.

"Above the region of the palms commences the temperate zone. It is there that vegetation appears in its most delightful form, luxuriant without being rank, majestic yet not impervious; it combines all that nature has given of the grand, with all that the poets have figured of the beautiful. The bark tree, which she has provided as the only effectual febrifuge in the deadly heats of the inferior region; the cyprus and melastoma, with their superb violet blossoms, gigantic fuchsias of every possible variety, and evergreen trees of lofty stature, covered with flowers, adorn that delightful zone. The turf is enamelled by never fading flowers; mosses of dazzling beauty, fed by the frequent rains, cover the rocks; and trembling branches of the mimosa, and others of the sensitive tribe, hang in graceful pendants over every declivity. Almost all the flowering shrubs which adorn our conservatories, are to be found there in primeval beauty, and what to Europeans appears a gigantic scale; magnificent arums of many different kinds spread their ample snowy petals above the surrounding thickets; and innumerable creepers, adorned by splendid blossoms mount even to the summit of the highest trees, and diffuse a perennial fragrance around.

"The oaks and trees of Europe are not found in those parts of the Andes which lie in the torrid zone, till you arrive at the height of five thousand feet above the sea. It is there you first begin to see the leaves fall in winter, and bud in spring, as in European climates: below that level the foliage is perpetual. Nowhere are the trees so large as in this region: not unfrequently they are found of the height of a hundred and eighty or two hundred feet; their stems are from eight to fifteen feet across at their base, and sometimes rise to a hundred feet without a single cross branch. When so great an elevation as the plains of Quito, however, which is 9515 feet above the sea, is reached, they become less considerable, and not larger than those usually found in the forests of Europe. If the traveller ascends two thousand feet higher, to an elevation of eleven or twelve thousand feet, trees almost entirely disappear; but the frequent humidity nourishes a thick covering of arbutus and other evergreens, shrubs three or four feet high, covered with flowers generally of a bright yellow, which form a striking contrast to the dark evergreen foliage with which they are surrounded. Still higher, at the height of thirteen thousand feet, near the summit of the lower ranges of the Cordilleras, almost constant rains overspread the earth with a verdant and slippery coating of moss; amidst which a few stunted specimens of the melastoma still exhibit their purple blossoms. A broad zone succeeds, covered entirely with Alpine plants, which, as in the mountains of Switzerland, nestle in the crevices of rocks, or push their flowers, generally of yellow or dark blue, through the now frequent snow. Higher still grass alone is to be met with, mixed with the grey moss which conducts the wearied traveller to the region of perpetual snow, which in those warm latitudes is general only at an elevation of fifteen thousand feet. Above that level no animated being is found, except the huge condor, the largest bird that exists, which there, amidst ice and clouds, has fixed its gloomy abode."—(Tableau de la Nature dans les Regions Equatoriales, 59, 140-144.)

In the rhythm of prose these are the colours of poetry; but it is of poetry

* Park's Last Mission to Africa, 1815, p. 89.

chastened and directed by the observation of reality, and possesses the inimitable charm of being drawn from real life, and sharing the freshness and variety which characterize the works of nature, and distinguish them from the brightest conceptions of human fancy. As we have set out in this article with placing Humboldt at the head of modern travellers, and much above any that Great Britain has produced, and assigned as the main reason of this superiority the exclusive and limited range of objects on which the attention of our youth is fixed at our great universities, we shall, in justice to Oxford and Cambridge, present the reader with a specimen of the finest passages from Clarke and Bishop Heber, that he may judge for himself on their merit, great as it often is, when compared with that of the ardent and yet learned German.

Clarke, on leaving Greece, gives the following brilliant summary of the leading features of that classic land:—

"The last moments of this day were employed in taking once more a view of the superb scenery exhibited by the mountains Olympus and Ossa. They appeared upon this occasion in more than usual splendour; like one of those imaginary Alpine regions suggested by viewing a boundary of clouds when they terminate the horizon in a still evening, and are gathered into heaps, with many a towering top shining in fleecy whiteness. The great Olympian chain forms a line which is exactly opposite to Salonica; and even the chasm between Olympus and Ossa, constituting the defile of Tempe, is here visible. Directing the eye towards that chain, there is comprehended in one view the whole of Pieria and Bottia; and with the vivid impressions which remain after leaving the country, memory easily recalled into one mental picture the whole of Greece. Every reader may not duly comprehend what is meant by this: but every traveller who has beheld the scenes to which allusion is made, will readily admit its truth; he will be aware that, whenever his thoughts were directed to that country, the whole of it recurred to his imagination, as if he were actually indulged with a view of it.

"In such an imaginary flight he enters, for example, the defile of Tempe; and as the gorge opens to the south, he beholds all the Larissian plain. This conducts him to the fields of Pharsalia, whence he ascends the mountains south of Pharsalus; then, crossing the bleak and still more elevated region extending from these mountains towards Lamia, he views Mount Pindus far before him, and descending into the plain of the Sperchius, passes the straits of Thermopylae. Afterwards ascending Mount Eta, he beholds opposite to him the snowy point of Lycorea, with the rest of Parnassus, and the villages and towns lying at its base: the whole plain of Elataia lying at his feet, with the course of the Cephissus to the sea. Passing to the summit of Parnassus, he looks down upon all the other mountains, plains, islands, and gulfs of Greece; but especially surveys the broad bosom of Citharon, Helicon, and Hymettus. Thence, roaming into the depths and over all the heights of Euboea and Peloponnesus, he has their inmost recesses again submitted to his contemplation. Next, resting upon Hymettus, he examines, even in the minutest detail, the whole of Attica, to the Sunian promontory; for he sees it all—and all the shores of Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, Eleusis, and Athens. Thus, although not in all the freshness of its living colours, yet in all its grandeur, doth GREECE actually present itself to the mind's eye—and may the impression never be obliterated! In the eve of bidding it farewell for ever, as the hope of visiting this delightful country constituted the earliest and warmest wish of his youth, the author found it to be some alleviation of his regret excited by a consciousness of never returning, that he could thus summon to his recollection the scenes over which he had passed."—(Clarke's *Travels*, Vol. vii pp. 476-478.)

So far Clarke—the accomplished and famed traveller of Cambridge. We now give a favourable specimen of Bishop Heber—his companion in traversing Russia—the celebrated author, in early life at Oxford, of *Palestine*, the amiable and upright Bishop of Calcutta, whose life, if ever that could be said of mortal, was literally spent in doing good. This accomplished and excellent prelate thus describes the first view of the Himalaya range and the summits of Nundidevi, the highest mountain in the world, nearly 5000 feet above the loftiest peak of Chimborazo.

"After coasting the lake for a mile, we ascended for thirteen more by a most steep and rugged road over the neck of Mount Gaughur, through a succession of glens, forests, and views of the most sublime and beautiful description. I never saw such prospects before, and had formed no adequate idea of such. My attention was completely strained, and my eyes filled with tears; every thing around was so wild and magnificent that man appeared as nothing, and I felt myself as if climbing the steps of the altar of the great temple of God. The trees, as we advanced, were in a large proportion fir and cedar; but many were ilex, and to my surprise I still saw, even in these wild Alpine tracts, many venerable Peepul trees, on which the white monkeys were playing their gambols. Tigers used to be very common and mischievous; but since the English have begun to frequent the country, they have become very scarce. There are many wolves and bears, and some chamois, two of which passed near us. After wending up

"A wild romantic chasm, that slanted
Down the steep hill athwart a cedar cover—
A savage place, as holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath the waning moon was haunted
By woman's wailing for her demon lover;"

we arrived at the gorge of the Pass, in an indent between the two principal summits of Mount Gaughur, near 8600 feet above the sea. And now the snowy mountains, which had been so long eclipsed, opened upon us in full magnificence. To describe a view of this kind is only lost labour: and I found it nearly as impossible to make a sketch of it. Nundidevi was immediately opposite, Kedar Nath was not visible, but Marvo was visible as a distant peak. The eastern mountains, for whom I could procure no name, rose into great consequence, and were very glorious objects as we wound down the hill on the other side. The guides could only tell us they were a great way off, and on the borders of the Chinese empire. Nundidevi, the highest peak in the world is 25,689 feet above the sea, 4000 higher than Chimborazo. Bhadinath and Kedernath, which are merely summits of it, are 22,300 feet high. They are all in the British dominions. (Heber's *India*, Vol. ii. pp. 193-194, 209.)

On comparing the descriptions of the most interesting objects in Europe and Asia—Greece and the Himalaya range—by those two distinguished British travellers, with the pictures given by Humboldt of the Andes, the falls of the Orinoco, the forests of the same river, and the expanse of the Pampas in South America, every one must admit the great superiority of the German's powers of painting Nature. Neither Clarke nor Heber appear to attempt it. They tell you, indeed, that certain scenes were grand and beautiful, certain rocks wild, certain glens steep; but they make no attempt to portray their features, or convey to the reader's mind the pictures which they tell you are for ever engraven on their own. This is a very great defect, so great indeed that it will

probably prevent their works, how valuable soever as books of authority or reference, from ever acquiring lasting fame. It is a total mistake to say that it is in vain to attempt describing such scenes; that is the same mistake as was formerly committed by pacific academical historians, who said it was useless to attempt painting a battle, for they were all like each other. How like they really are to each other, has been shown by Colonel Napier and many other modern historians. We question if even the sight of the rapids of the Orinoco would make so vivid an impression on the imagination, as Humboldt's inimitable description; or a journey over the Pampas or the Andes, convey a clearer or more distinct idea of their opposite features than what has been derived from his brilliant pencil. It is the same with all the other scenes in nature. Description, if done by a masterly hand, can, to an intelligent mind, convey as vivid an idea as reality. What is wanting is the enthusiasm which warms at the perception of the sublime and the beautiful, the poetic mind which seizes as by inspiration its characteristic features, and the pictorial eye which discerns the appearances they exhibit, and by referring to images known to all, succeeds in causing them to be generally felt by the readers.

With all Humboldt's great and transcendent merits, he is a child of Adam, and therefore not without his faults. The principal of these is the want of arrangement. His travels are put together without any proper method; there is a great want of indexes and tables of contents; it is scarcely possible, except by looking over the whole, to find any passage you want. This is a fault which, in a person of his accurate and scientific mind, is very surprising, and the more inexcusable that it could so easily be remedied by mechanical industry, or the aid of compilers and index makers. But akin to this, is another fault of a more irremediable kind, as it originates in the varied excellences of the author, and the vast store of information on many different subjects which he brings to bear on the subject of his travels. He has so many topics of which he is master himself, that he forgets with how few, comparatively, his readers are familiar; he sees so many objects of enquiry—physical, moral, and political—in the country which he visits, that he becomes insensible to the fact, that though each probably possesses a certain degree of interest to each reader, yet it is scarcely possible to find one to whom, as to himself, they are all alike the object of eager solicitude and anxious investigation. Hence, notwithstanding his attempt to detach his personal narrative from the learned works which contain the result of his scientific researches, he has by no means succeeded in effecting their separation. The ordinary reader who has been fascinated by his glowing description of tropical scenery, or his graphic picture of savage manners, is, a few pages on, chilled by disquisitions on the height of the barometer, the disk of the sun, or the electricity of the atmosphere; while the scientific student, who turns to his works for information on his favourite objects of study, deems them strangely interspersed with rhapsodies on glowing sunsets, silent forests, and sounding cataracts. It is scarcely possible to find a reader to whom all these objects are equally interesting; and therefore it is scarcely to be expected that his travels, unrivalled as their genius and learning are, will ever be the object of general popularity.

In truth, here, as in all the other branches of human thought, it will be found that the rules of composition are the same, and that a certain *unity of design* is essential to general success or durable fame. If an author has many different and opposite subjects of interest in his head, which is not unfrequently the case with persons of the higher order of intellect, and he can discard on all with equal facility, or investigate all with equal eagerness, he will do well to recollect that the minds of his readers are not likely to be equally discursive, and that he is apt to destroy the influence, or mar the effect of each, if he blends them together; separation of works is the one thing needful there. A mathematical proposition, a passage of poetry, a page of history, are all admirable things in their way, and each may be part of a work destined to durable celebrity; but what should we say to a composition which should present us, page about, with a theorem of Euclid, a scene from Shakspeare, and a section from Gibbon? Unity of effect, identity of train of thought, similarity of ideas, are as necessary in a book of travels as in an epic poem, a tragedy, or a painting. There is no such thing as one set of rules for the fine arts, and another for works of thought or reflection. The *Iliad* is constructed on the same principles as the *Principia* of Newton, or the history of Thucydides.

What makes ordinary books of travels so uninteresting, and, in general, so short-lived, is the want of any idea of composition, or unity of effect, in the minds of their authors. Men and women seem to think that there is nothing more to do to make a book of travels, than to give a transcript of their journals, in which every thing is put down of *whatever* importance, provided only it really occurred. Scenes and adventures, broken wheels and rugged rocks, cataracts and omelets lakes and damp beds, thunder storms and waiters, are huddled together, without any other thread of connexion than the accidental and fortuitous one of their having successively come under the notice of the traveller. What should we say to any other work composed on the same principle? What if Milton, after the speech of Satan in *Paradise Lost*, were to treat us to an account of his last dinner; or Shakspeare, after the scene of the bones in Juliet, were to tell us of the damp sheets in which he slept last night; or Gibbon, after working up the enthusiasm of his readers by the account of the storming of Constantinople by the Crusaders, was to favour us with a digression on the insolence of the postilions in Roumelia? All the world would see the folly of this: and yet this is precisely what is constantly done by travellers, and tolerated by the public, because it is founded on nature! Is every thing that is actually true, or real, fit to be recorded, or worthy of being recounted? Sketches from nature are admirable things, and are the only foundation for correct and lasting pictures; but no man would think of interposing a gallery of paintings with chalk drawings or studies of trees. Correctness, fidelity, truth, are the only secure bases of eminence in all the arts of imitation; but the light of genius, the skilful arrangement, the principles of composition, the selection of topics, are as necessary in the writer of travels, as in the landscape painter, the historian, or the epic poet.

THE DAYS OF THE FRONDE.

[Concluded.]

The headman lives long enough to inform Grimaud of what has passed; and Grimaud, who was present at the decapitation of Lady de Winter, returns to Paris, to put Athos and his friends on their guard against the vengeance of her son. Mordaunt, alias De Winter, is one of Cromwell's most devoted and unscrupulous agents, and is proceeding to the French capital to negotiate with Mazarine on the part of the Parliamentary general. Guided by what he has heard from the executioner of Bethune, he discovers who the men are by whose order his mother was beheaded, and he vows their destruction. The four friends soon afterwards meet in England, whither D'Artagnan and Porthos have been sent on a mission to Cromwell; whilst Athos and Aramis have repaired thither to strive to prop the falling fortunes of Charles the First. We cannot

say much in favour of that portion of the book of which the scene is laid on English ground. M Dumas is much happier in his delineations of Frondeurs and Mazarinists than of Puritans and Cavaliers; and his account of Charles the First, and of the scenes prior to his execution, is horribly Frenchified.

After numerous narrow escapes from Mordaunt, who pursues them with unrelenting rancour, and succeeds in assassinating their friend and his uncle, Lord de Winter, the four guardsmen embark on board a small vessel to return to France. Mordaunt discovers this, gets the captain and crew out of the way, replaces them by one Groslow and other creatures of his own, and conceals himself on board. His plan is, so soon as the vessel is a short distance out at sea, to escape in a boat with his confederates, after firing a train communicating with some barrels of powder in the hold. There is some improbability in this part of the story; but gunpowder plots have special privilege of absurdity. The guardsmen, however, discover the mischief that is brewing against them, just in time to escape through the cabin windows, and swim off to the boat, which is towing astern.

Scarcely had D'Artagnan cut the rope that attached the boat to the ship, when a shrill whistle was heard proceeding from the latter, which, as it moved on whilst the boat remained stationary, was already beginning to be lost to view in the darkness. At the same moment a lantern was brought upon deck, and lit up the figures of the crew. Suddenly a great outcry was heard; and just then the clouds that covered the heavens split and parted, and the silver light of the moon fell upon the white sails and dark rigging of the vessel. Persons were seen running about the deck in bewilderment and confusion; and Mordaunt himself, carrying a torch in his hand, appeared upon the poop.

At the appointed hour, Groslow had collected his men, and Mordaunt, after listening at the door of the cabin, and concluding from the silence which reigned that his intended victims were buried in sleep, had hurried to the powder barrels and set fire to the train. Whilst he was doing this, Groslow and his sailors were preparing to leave the ship.

"Haul in the rope," said the former, "and bring the boat alongside."

One of the sailors seized the rope and pulled it. It came to him without resistance.

"The cable is cut!" exclaimed the man; "the boat is gone."

"The boat gone!" repeated Groslow; "impossible!"

"It is nevertheless true," returned the sailor. "See here: nothing in our wake, and here is the end of the rope."

It was then that Groslow uttered the cry which the guardsmen heard from their boat.

"What is the matter?" demanded Mordaunt, emerging from the hatchway, his torch in his hand, and rushing towards the stern.

"The matter is that your enemies have escaped you. They have cut the rope, and saved themselves in the boat."

With a single bound Mordaunt was at the cabin door, which he burst open with his foot. It was empty.

"We will follow them," said Groslow; "they cannot be far off. We will give them the stem; sail right over them!"

"Yes; but the powder—I have fired the train!"

"Damnation!" roared Groslow, rushing to the hatchway. "Perhaps there is still time."

A horrible laugh and a frightful blasphemy were Mordaunt's reply; and then, his features distorted by rage and disappointed hate rather than by fear, he hurled his torch into the sea, and precipitated himself after it. At the same moment, and before Groslow had reached the powder barrels, the ship opened like the crater of a volcano, a gush of fire rose from it with a noise like that of fifty pieces of artillery, and blazing fragments of the doomed vessel were seen careering through the air in every direction. It lasted but an instant; the red glow that had lit up the sea for miles around vanished; the burning fragments fell hissing into the water; and, with the exception of a vibration in the air, all was calm as before. The felucca had disappeared; Groslow and his men were annihilated.

Our four guardsmen had witnessed this terrible spectacle with mute awe and horror, and when it was over, they remained for a moment downcast and silent. Porthos and D'Artagnan, who had each taken an oar, forgot to use them, and sat gazing at their companions, whilst the boat rocked to and fro at the will of the waves.

"*Ma foi!*" said Aramis, who was the first to break the pause, "this time I think we are fairly rid of him."

"Help, gentlemen, help!" just then cried a voice that came sweeping in piteous accents over the troubled surface of the sea. "Help! for heaven's sake, help!"

The guardsmen looked at each other. Athos shuddered.

"It is his voice!" said he.

All recognised the voice, and strained their eyes in the direction in which the felucca had disappeared. Presently a man was seen swimming vigorously towards them. Athos extended his arm, pointing him out to his companions.

"Yes, yes," said D'Artagnan; "I see him."

"Will nothing kill him?" said Porthos.

Aramis leaned forward and spoke in a whisper to D'Artagnan. Mordaunt advanced a few yards, and raised one hand out of the water in sign of distress.

"Pity! gentlemen," cried he; "pity and mercy! My strength is leaving me, and I am about to sink."

The tone of agony in which these words were spoken awakened a feeling of compassion in the breast of Athos.

"Unhappy man!" he murmured.

"Good!" said D'Artagnan. "I like to see you pity him. On my word, I think he is swimming towards us. Does he suppose we are going to take him in? Row, Porthos, row."

And D'Artagnan plunged his oar into the water. Two or three long strokes placed twenty fathoms between the boat and the drowning man.

"Oh! you will have mercy!" cried Mordaunt. "You will not let me perish!"

"Aha! my fine fellow," said Porthos, "we have you now, I think, without a chance of escape."

"Oh, Porthos!" murmured the Count de la Fère.

"For heaven's sake, Athos," replied Porthos, "cease your eternal generosity, which is ridiculous under such circumstances. For my part I declare to you, that if he comes within my reach, I will split his skull with the oar."

D'Artagnan, who had just finished his colloquy with Aramis, stood up in the boat.

"Sir," said he to the swimmer, "be so good as to betake yourself in some other direction. The vessel which you intended for our coffin is scarcely yet

at the bottom of the sea, and your present situation is a bed of roses compared to that in which you intended to put us."

"Gentlemen!" said Mordaunt in despairing accents, "I swear to you that I sincerely repent. I am too young to die. I was led away by a natural resentment; I wished to revenge my mother. You would all have acted as I have done."

"Pshaw!" said D'Artagnan, who saw that Athos was becoming more and more softened by Mordaunt's supplications. The swimmer was again within three or four fathoms of the boat. The approach of death seemed to give him supernatural strength.

"Alas!" said he, "I am going to die, then. And yet I was right to avenge my mother. And besides, if it were a crime, I repent of it, and you ought to pardon me."

A wave that passed over his head, interrupted his entreaties. He again emerged, and made a stroke in the direction of the boat. D'Artagnan took his oar in both hands. The unhappy wretch uttered a groan of despair. Athos could bear it no longer.

"D'Artagnan!" cried he, "my son D'Artagnan, I entreat of you to spare his life. It is so horrible to let a man die when you can save him by stretching out your hand. I cannot witness such a deed; he must be saved."

"Mordieu!" replied D'Artagnan, "why do you not tie our hands and feet, and deliver us up to him at once? The thing would be sooner over. Ha! Count de la Fère, you wish to perish at his hands: well, I, whom you call your son—I will not suffer it."

Aramis quietly drew his sword, which he had carried between his teeth when he swam off from the ship.

"If he lays a hand upon the boat," said he, "I sever it from his body, like that of a regicide, as he is."

"Wait a moment," said Porthos.

"What are you going to do?" said Aramis.

"Jump overboard and strangle him," replied the giant.

"Oh, my friends!" said Athos, in a tone of entreaty that was irresistible; "remember that we are men and Christians! Grant me the life of this unhappy wretch!"

D'Artagnan hung his head: Aramis lowered his sword: Porthos sat down.

"Count de la Fère," exclaimed Mordaunt, now very near the boat, "it is you whom I implore. Have pity upon me, and that quickly, for my strength is exhausted. Count de la Fère, where are you?"

"I am here, sir," replied Athos, with that noble and dignified air that was habitual to him. "Take my hand, and come into our boat."

"I cannot bear to witness it," said D'Artagnan; "such weakness is really pitiable." And he turned towards his two remaining friends, who, on their part, recoiled to the other side of the boat, as if unwilling to touch the man to whom Athos alone did not fear to give his hand. Mordaunt made an effort, raised himself up, and seized the arm extended to him.

"So," said Athos, leaning over the gunwale of the boat—"now place your other hand here;" and he offered him his shoulder as a support, so that his head nearly touched that of Mordaunt; and for a moment the two deadly foes seemed to embrace each other like brothers. Mordaunt grasped the count's collar with his cold and dripping fingers.

"And now, sir, you are saved," said Athos; "compose yourself."

"Ah, my mother!" exclaimed Mordaunt, with the look of a demon, and an accent of hatred impossible to render, "I can offer you but one victim, but it is the one you would yourself have chosen!"

D'Artagnan uttered a cry; Porthos raised his oar; Aramis sprang forward, his naked sword in his hand. But it was too late. By a last effort, and with a yell of triumph, Mordaunt dragged Athos into the water, compressing his throat, and winding his limbs round him like the coils of a serpent. Without uttering a word, or calling for help, Athos strove for a moment to maintain himself on the surface of the water. But his movements were fettered, the weight that hung to him was too great to bear up against, and little by little he sank. Before his friends could get to his assistance, his head was under water, and only his long hair was seen floating; then all disappeared, and a circle of foam, which in its turn was rapidly obliterated, alone marked the spot where the two men had been engulfed. Struck dumb by horror, motionless, and almost suffocated with grief and indignation, the three guardsmen remained, with dilated eyes and extended arms, gazing down upon the dark waves that rolled over the body of their friend, the brave, the chivalrous, the noble-hearted Athos. Porthos was the first to recover his speech.

"Oh, Athos!" said he, tearing his hair, and with an explosion of grief doubly affecting in a man of his gigantic frame and iron mould; "Oh, Athos! are you indeed gone from us?"

At this moment, in the midst of the vast circle which the rays of the moon lit up, the agitation of the water which had accompanied the absorption of the two men, was renewed, and there appeared, first a quantity of fair hair, then a pallid human face, with eyes wide open, but fixed and glazed, then a body, which, after raising its bust out of the water, fell softly backwards, and floated upon the surface of the sea. In the breast of the corpse was buried a dagger, of which the golden hilt sparkled in the moonbeams.

"Mordaunt! Mordaunt!" cried the three friends; "it is Mordaunt! But Athos! where is he?"

Just then the boat gave a lurch, and Grimaud uttered an exclamation of joy. The guardsmen turned, and saw Athos, his face livid with exhaustion, supporting himself with a trembling hand upon the gunwale of the boat. In an instant he was lifted in, and clasped in the arms of his friends.

"You are unhurt!" said D'Artagnan.

"Yes," replied Athos. "And Mordaunt?"

"Oh! thank God, he is dead at last. Look yonder."

And D'Artagnan forced Athos to look in the direction he pointed out, where the body of Mordaunt, tossed upon the wave, seemed to pursue the friends with a look of insult and mortal hate. Athos gazed at it with an expression of mingled pity and melancholy.

"Bravo! Athos," cried Aramis, with a degree of exultation which he rarely showed.

"A good blow," exclaimed Porthos.

"I have a son," said Athos, "and I wished to live. But it was not I who killed him. It was the hand of fate."

Soon after the escape of Monsieur de Beaufort, the Parisians, stirred up by various influential malecontents—one of the chief of whom is the famous Jean de Gondy, Conductor of Paris, and afterwards Cardinal de Retz—broke out into open insurrection. Mazarine's life is menaced; the queen-mother and the young king are virtually prisoners of the Frondeurs. The Prince of Condé, with the laurels he has gained on the battle-field of Lens yet fresh upon his brow, hurries to Paris to take part against the Fronde; the queen and Maza-

rine are anxious to escape from the capital in order to carry on the war in the open field instead of in the narrow streets, fighting in which latter, or from behind their barricades, the ill-disciplined troops of the insurgents are nearly as efficient as the most practised veterans. How to manage the escape is the difficulty. The gates of the city are guarded by armed citizens; there appears no possibility of egress. In this dilemma, Anne of Austria bethinks her of the man to whose address and courage she had, twenty years previously, been so deeply indebted; D'Artagnan is called in to her assistance. He succeeds in smuggling the cardinal out of Paris, and then returns to fetch Louis XIV. and the queen-mother.

Instead of re-entering Paris by the gate of St. Honoré, D'Artagnan, who had time to spare, went round to that of Richelieu. The guard stopped him, and when they saw by his plumed hat and laced cloak that he was an officer of mousquetaires, they insisted upon his crying out, "Down with Mazarine!" This he did with so good a grace, and in so sonorous a voice, that the most difficult were fully satisfied. He then walked down the Rue Richelieu, reflecting how he should manage the escape of the Queen, for it would be impossible to take her away in one of the royal carriages, with the arms of France painted upon it. On passing before the hotel of Madame de Guéméné, who passed for the mistress of Monsieur de Gondy, he perceived a coach standing at the door. A sudden idea struck him.

"Pardieu!" said he, "it would be an excellent manoeuvre." And, stepping up to the carriage, he examined the arms upon the panels, and the livery of the coachman, who was sleeping on the box.

"It is the Coadjutor's carriage," said D'Artagnan to himself. "Providence is decidedly in our favour."

He opened the door without noise, got into the coach, and pulled the check-string.

"To the Palais Royal," cried he to the coachman.

The man, waking in a fright, made no doubt that the order came from his master, and drove off at full speed to the palace. The gates of the court were just closing as he drove in. On pulling up at the steps, the coachman perceived that the footmen were not behind the carriage, and, supposing that M. de Gondy had sent them somewhere, he got off his box and opened the door. D'Artagnan jumped out, and just as the coachman, alarmed at seeing a stranger instead of his master, made a step backwards, he seized him by the collar with his left hand, and with his right put a pistol to his breast.

"Not a word," said D'Artagnan, "or you are a dead man."

The coachman saw that he had fallen into a snare. He remained silent, with open mouth and staring eyes. Two mousquetaires were walking up and down the court; D'Artagnan called them, handed over the coachman to one of them, with orders to keep him in safe custody, and desired the other to get on the box of the carriage, drive it round to the door of the private staircase leading out of the palace, and there to wait till he came. The coachman's livery coat and hat went with the carriage. These arrangements completed, D'Artagnan entered the palace, and knocked at the door of the Queen's apartments. He was instantly admitted; Anne of Austria was waiting for him in her oratory.

"Is every thing prepared?" said she.

"Every thing, madam."

"And the cardinal?"

"He has left Paris without accident, and waits for your majesty at Cours la Reine."

"Come with me to the King."

D'Artagnan bowed, and followed the Queen. The young king was already dressed, with the exception of his shoes and doublet. He seemed greatly astonished at being thus roused in the middle of the night, and overwhelmed his valet-de-chambre, Laporte, with questions, to all of which the latter replied—"Sire, it is by order of her majesty." The bed-clothes were thrown back, and the sheets were seen worn threadbare and even into holes. This was one of the results of Mazarine's excessive parsimony. The Queen entered, and D'Artagnan remained at the door of the apartment. As soon as the child saw his mother, he escaped from Laporte's hand and ran up to her. She signed to D'Artagnan to approach.

"My son," said Anne of Austria, showing him the mousquetaire, who stood with his plumed hat in his hand, calm, grave, and collected, "this is M. D'Artagnan, who is brave as one of those knights of old whose histories you love to hear repeated. Look at him well, and remember his name, for he is about to render us a great service."

Louis XIV. gazed at D'Artagnan with his large proud eyes; then, slowly lifting his little hand, he held it out to the officer, who bent his knee and kissed it.

"Monsieur D'Artagnan," repeated the young king. "It is well, madam; I shall remember it."

At this moment a loud murmuring noise was heard approaching the palace.

"Ha!" said D'Artagnan, straining his ears to distinguish the sound—"The people are rising."

"We must fly instantly," said the Queen.

"Madam," said D'Artagnan, "you have deigned to give me the direction of this night's proceedings. Let your majesty remain and learn what the people want. I will answer for every thing."

Nothing is more easily communicated than confidence. The Queen, herself courageous and energetic, appreciated in the highest degree those two virtues in others.

"Do as you please," said she. "I trust entirely to you."

"Does your majesty authorize me to give orders in your name?"

"I do, sir."

D'Artagnan hurried from the room. The tumult was increasing; the mob seemed to surround the Palais Royal. On all sides were heard seditious cries and clamours. Presently M. de Comminges, who was on guard that night at the Palais Royal, craved admittance to the Queen's presence. He had about two hundred men in the court-yard and stables, and he placed them at her majesty's disposal.

"What do the people want?" said Anne of Austria to D'Artagnan, who just then re-appeared.

"A report has been spread, madam, that your majesty has left the Palais Royal, taking the king with you. The mob demand a proof of the contrary, or threaten to demolish the palace."

"Oh! this time it is too bad," said the Queen. "I will soon show them that I am not gone."

D'Artagnan saw by the expression of Anne's face, that she was about to give some violent order. He hastened to interfere.

"Madame," said he, in a low voice, "have you still confidence in me?"

"Entire confidence, sir," was the reply.

"Then let your majesty send away M. de Comminges, and order him to shut

himself up with his men in the guard-room and stables. The people wish to see the king, and the people must see him."

"See him! But how? On the balcony?"

"No, madam; here, in his bed, sleeping."

The Queen reflected a moment, and smiled. There was a degree of duplicity in the course proposed that chimed in with her humour.

"Let it be as you will," said she.

"Monsieur Laporte," said D'Artagnan; "go and announce to the people, that in five minutes they shall see the king in his bed. Say also that his majesty is sleeping, and that the Queen requests them to be silent, in order not to awaken him."

"But they cannot all come," said Anne. "A deputation of two or four persons."

"All of them, madam."

"But it will last till to-morrow morning."

"In a quarter of an hour it will be over. I know the mob, madam; it is a great baby that only wants flattery and caresses. Before the king, these noisy rioters will be mute and timid as lambs."

"Go, Laporte," said the Queen. The young king approached his mother.

"Why do you do what these people ask?" said he.

"It must be so, my son," said Anne of Austria.

"But if they can tell me that it *must* be so, I am no longer king."

The Queen remained silent.

"Sire," said D'Artagnan, "will your majesty permit me to ask you a question?"

"Yes, sir," replied Louis, after a moment's pause, occasioned by surprise at the guardsman's boldness.

"Does your majesty remember, when playing in the park at Fontainebleau, or the gardens at Versailles, to have seen the heavens become clouded, and to have heard the thunder roll?"

"Certainly I do," answered Louis.

"Well, the noise of that thunder told your majesty, that, however disposed you might be to play, you *must* go in doors."

"Certainly, sir; but I have been told that the voice of the thunder is the voice of God."

"Well, sire, let your majesty listen to the voice of the people, and you will perceive that it greatly resembles that of the thunder."

As he spoke, a low deep roar, proceeding from the multitude without, was borne upon the night breeze to the windows of the apartment. The next instant all was still and hushed.

"Hark, sire," said D'Artagnan, "they have just told the people that you are sleeping. You see that you are still king."

The Queen looked with astonishment at this singular man, whose brilliant courage made him the equal of the bravest; whose keen and ready wit rendered him the equal of all. Laporte entered the room, and announced that the message he had taken to the people had acted like oil upon the waves, and that they were waiting in respectful silence, till the five minutes, at the expiration of which they were to see the king, should have elapsed. By the Queen's order, Louis was put into bed, dressed as he was, and covered up to the throat with the sheets. His mother stooped over him, and kissed his forehead.

"Pretend to sleep, Louis," said she.

"Yes," said the king, "but not one of those men must touch me."

"Sire," said D'Artagnan, "I am here; and if one of them had that audacity, he should pay for it with his life."

The five minutes were over. Laporte went out to usher in the mob; the Queen remained standing near the door; D'Artagnan concealed himself behind the curtains of the bed. Then was heard the march of a great multitude of men, striving to step lightly and noiselessly. The Queen raised with her own hand the tapestry that covered the doorway, and placed her finger on her lips. On beholding her, the crowd paused, struck with respect.

"Come in, gentlemen—come in," said the Queen.

There was apparent in the mob a degree of hesitation which resembled shame; they had expected resistance, had anticipated a contest with the guards, bloodshed and violence; instead of that, the gates had been peaceably opened, and the king, ostensibly at least, was unguarded save by his mother. The men in front of the throng stammered out an excuse, and attempted to retire.

"Come in, gentlemen," said Laporte, "since the Queen desires it."

Upon this invitation, a man bolder than the rest, entered the room, and advanced on tiptoe towards the bed. He was followed by others, and the chamber was rapidly filled, as silently as if the new-comers had been the most humble and obsequious courtiers. D'Artagnan saw every thing through a hole he had made in the curtain. In the man who had first entered, he recognised his former servant Planchet, who, since he had left his service, had been a sergeant in the regiment of Piedmont, and who was now a confectioner in the Rue des Lombards, and an active partisan of the Fronde.

"Sir," said the Queen, who saw that Planchet was a leader of the mob, "you wished to see the king, and the king is here. Approach, and look at him, and say if we resemble persons who are going to escape."

"Certainly not, your majesty," said Planchet, a little astonished at the honour done to him.

"You will tell my good and loyal Parisians," continued Anne of Austria, with a smile of which D'Artagnan well understood the meaning, "that you have seen the king in bed, and sleeping, and the Queen about to go to bed also."

"I will tell them so, madam, and those who accompany me will also bear witness to it, but"—

"But what?" said the Queen.

"I beseech your majesty to pardon me," said Planchet; "but is this really the king?"

The Queen trembled with suppressed anger.

"Is there one amongst you who knows the king?" said she. "If so, let him approach, and say if this be his majesty or not."

A man, muffled in a cloak, which he wore in such a manner as to conceal his face, drew near and stooping over the bed, gazed at the features of Louis. For a moment D'Artagnan thought that this person had some evil design, and he placed his hand upon his sword; but as he did so, the cloak slipped partially from before the man's face, and the guardsman recognised the Coadjutor, De Gondy.

"It is the king himself," said the man. "God bless his majesty!"

"God bless his majesty!" murmured the crowd.

"And now, my friends," said Planchet; "let us thank her majesty, and retire."

The insurgents bowed their thanks, and left the room with the same caution and silence with which they had entered it. When the last had disappeared,

followed by Laporte, the remaining actors in this strange scene remained for a moment looking at each other without uttering a word: the Queen standing near the door; D'Artagnan half out of his hiding-place; the king leaning on his elbow, but ready to fall back upon his pillow at the least noise that should indicate the return of the mob. The noise of footsteps, however, grew rapidly more remote, and at last entirely ceased. The Queen drew a deep breath of relief; D'Artagnan wiped the perspiration of anxiety from his brow; the king slid out of his bed.

"Let us go," said Louis.

Just then Laporte returned.

"I have followed them to the gates, madam," said the valet-de-chambre; "they informed their companions that they had seen the king, and spoken to the Queen, and the mob has dispersed, perfectly satisfied."

"The wretches!" murmured Anne of Austria; "they shall pay dearly for their insolence." Then, turning to D'Artagnan, "Sir," said she, "you have this night given me the best advice I ever received in my life. What is next to be done?"

"We can set out when your majesty pleases. I shall be waiting at the foot of the private staircase."

"Go, sir," said the Queen. "We will follow you."

D'Artagnan descended the stairs, and found the carriage at the appointed place, with the guardsman sitting on the box. He took the hat and coat of M. de Gondy's coachman, put them on himself, and took the guardsman's place. He had a brace of pistols in his belt, a musketoon under his feet, his naked sword behind him. The Queen appeared, accompanied by the King, and by his brother, the Duke of Anjou.

"The Coadjutor's carriage!" exclaimed she, starting back in astonishment.

"Yes, madam," said D'Artagnan, "but be not alarmed. I shall drive you."

The Queen uttered a cry of surprise, and stepped into the coach. The king and his brother followed, and sat down beside her. By her command, Laporte also entered the vehicle. The mantelets of the windows were closed, and the horses set off at a gallop along the Rue Richelieu. On reaching the gate at the extremity of the street, the chief of the guard advanced at the head of a dozen men, and carrying a lantern in his hand. D'Artagnan made him a sign.

"Do you recognise the carriage?" said he to the sergeant.

"No," was the reply.

"Look at the arms."

The sergeant put his lantern close to the pannel.

"They are those of M. le Coadjuteur," said he.

"Hush!" said D'Artagnan. "Madam de Guéméné is with him."

The sergeant laughed. "Open the gate," said he; "I know who it is." Then, approaching the mantelet—"Much pleasure, Monseigneur," said he.

"Hold your tongue!" cried D'Artagnan. "or you will lose me my place."

The gate creaked upon its hinges; D'Artagnan, seeing the gate open, flogged his horses, and set off at a rapid trot. In five minutes he had rejoined the cardinal's coach.

"Mousqueton," cried D'Artagnan to M. du Vallon's servant, "open the door of his majesty's carriage."

"It is he!" exclaimed Porthos, who was waiting for his friend.

"In a coachman's livery!" cried Mazarine.

"And with the Coadjutor's carriage," said the Queen.

"Corpo di Dio, Monsieur d'Artagnan!" said the cardinal, "you are worth your weight in gold!"

We cannot attempt to give more than these slight glimpses of the eight volumes now lying before us, in which the extravagance and exaggeration of many of the incidents are only redeemed by the brilliant diction and animated narrative of their clever but unscrupulous author. It would be too lengthy to give even a sketch of the chain of incidents that succeeds those above detailed, or to show how, according to M. Dumas, D'Artagnan and his friends became instrumental to the conclusion of the treaty by which the hostilities between Frondeurs and Mazarinists are for the time brought to a close. The first act of the war of the Fronde is over; Louis XIV., now within a year of his majority, re-enters the capital with Anne of Austria and Mazarine, D'Artagnan, now captain of mousquetaires, riding on one side of his carriage, and Porthos, now Baron du Vallon, on the other. Baron Porthos goes back to his estates, happy and glorious; Aramis and Athos return to the seclusion whence the stirring times had called them forth, the latter leaving his son in charge of D'Artagnan, who is to take the young man with him to the Flemish wars. The restless spirit of the Gascon abhors the idea of repose.

"Come, D'Artagnan," said Porthos, as he got upon his horse to depart, "take my advice; throw up your commission, hang up your sword, and accompany me to Du Vallon. We will grow old together, whilst talking of our past adventures."

"Not so," replied D'Artagnan. "Peste! the campaign is just opening, and I mean to make it. I hope to gain something by it."

"And what do you hope to become?"

"Pardieu! who can tell? Marshal of France, perhaps."

"Ah ah!" said Porthos, looking at D'Artagnan, to whose gasconading he had never been able quite to accustom himself. And the two friends parted.

"You will prepare your best apartment for me, Madeleine," said D'Artagnan to his handsome hostess, as he re-entered his hotel. "I must keep up appearances, now that I am Captain of Mousquetaires."

DISPATCHES OF LORD NELSON.—VOL. 4.

[Second Notice.]

In Clarke and M'Arthur's life of the great admiral, considerable use has been made of a narrative, giving a highly interesting account of the expedition to the Baltic, which those gentlemen state to have been written by "an officer, who was with Lord Nelson." The early part of this same narrative, from which the former biographers have not extracted, Sir Harris Nicolas has found in the 'Nelson Papers'—one of the collections placed at his disposal for the purposes of this work; and the graphic account is found to have been furnished by the Honourable Colonel Stewart, who had the command of the troops embarked for the expedition. Sir Harris has printed the narrative entire; and, besides the clear and authentic account given by it of the public transactions which are its subject, it abounds in anecdotes, which are so many touches of character, and artistic aids to the vivid presentment of the scenes through which it leads us. They put the sleepless activity of the hero into picturesque contrast with the cautious movements and phlegmatic bearing of his chief: presenting to the mind the idea of an ill-matched team, of which the shaft-horse, a thing of fire and action, does all the work,—driving on its lazy leader by the mere irresistible necessity of its own forward movement. There is an anecdote

in the early part of the narrative, slight enough as it may seem, yet highly characteristic because of its very slightness, of that restless spirit of meddling which thrust Nelson pertinaciously forward on all occasions, great and small,—and which, while in an instance like the present it is sufficiently amusing, gives a breathless interest to the narrative of his sayings and doings in matters whose imminence had dilated his genius into its grander proportions:—

"His lordship was rather too apt to interfere in the working of the ship, and not always with the best success or judgment. The wind, when off Dungeness, was scanty, and the Ship was to be put about; Lord Nelson would give the orders, and caused her to miss stays. Upon this he said, rather peevishly, to the Master, or Officer of the watch, (I forget which,) 'Well, now, see what we have done. Well, Sir, what mean you to do now?' The Officer saying with hesitation, 'I don't exactly know, my Lord; I fear she won't do,' Lord Nelson turned sharply towards the cabin, and replied, 'Well, I am sure if you do not know what to do with her, no more do I either.' He went in, leaving the Officer to work the Ship as he liked."

The great object with Nelson, had he commanded, would have been to make a sudden appearance in the Danish seas; anticipating, by the rapidity of his proceedings, those formidable preparations for defence, against which the British armament had ultimately to contend. For this purpose, he would have sailed at once with such of his ships as happened to be ready, leaving the others to follow in succession as they could. The delay in Yarmouth Roads, like every other delay, chafed his spirit.—A gale, on the 15th of March, scattered the fleet; and it was not until the 19th that they were nearly re-collected, off the Seaw.—A north-west wind then blew, and an opportunity appeared to have been lost of proceeding through the Cattegat.—The Point of Elsinour was not reached until the 24th; and on the 25th the wind was fair for the Sound. On the 26th, however, the fleet took the road of the Great Belt; and after proceeding for a few leagues along the coast of Zealand, Sir Hyde Parker suddenly changed his mind, and the ships returned to their former anchorage.—Here, "as if," says Colonel Stewart, "a more than sufficient time had not been given for the Danes to prepare their defence, another message was sent, on the 27th of March, to the governor of Elsinour, to discover his intentions relative to opposing our fleet, if it were to pass the Sound." The answer showed the fruitlessness of further negotiation.—The 28th and 29th were unfortunately calm, but on the 30th it blew a topsail breeze from N. W., and the fleet stood in, at length, for the passage of the Sound,—Nelson's division leading the van.

The semi-circular form of the land off Elsinour, which was thickly lined with batteries, caused our Fleet to pass in a form truly picturesque, and nearly similar. It had been our intention to have kept in mid-channel, the forbearance of the Swedes not having been counted upon, the lighter Vessels were on the larboard side of our Line of Battle, and were to have engaged the Helmsburg shore: not a shot, however, was fired, nor any batteries apparent, and our Fleet inclined accordingly on that side, so as completely to avoid the Danish shot which fell in showers, but at least a cable's length from our Ships. The Danish batteries opened a fire, as we understood, of nearly 100 pieces of cannon and mortars, as soon as our leading Ship, the Monarch, came abreast of them; and they continued in one uninterrupted blaze during the passage of the Fleet, to the no small amusement of our crews; none of whom received injury, except from the bursting of one of our own guns. Some of our leading Ships at first returned a few rounds, but, perceiving the inutilty, desisted. The whole came to anchor about mid-day, between the Island of Huen and Copenhagen."

It was at once perceived that the delay had been of important advantage to the enemy, who had lined the northern edge of the shoals, near the Crown batteries, and the front of the harbour and arsenal, with a formidable flotilla. "The Trekroner battery, in particular, appeared to have been strengthened, and all the buoys of the Northern and of the King's Channels had been removed." By this time, however, the bold and enterprising spirit of Nelson had fairly prevailed over the more hesitating genius of his chief. At a council of war, held in the afternoon, the former offered his services to attack—requiring ten line-of-battle ships, and the whole matter was placed in his hands, but with two more line-of-battle ships than he demanded:—

"During this Council of War, the energy of Lord Nelson's character was remarked: certain difficulties had been started by some of the members, relative to each of the three Powers we should either have to engage, in succession or united, in those seas. The number of the Russians was, in particular, represented as formidable. Lord Nelson kept pacing the cabin, mortified at every thing which savoured either of alarm or irresolution. When the above remark was applied to the Swedes, he sharply observed, 'The more numerous the better;' and when to the Russians, he repeatedly said, 'So much the better, I wish they were twice as many, the easier the victory, depend on it.'"

That there would be no further dalliance when Nelson had to decide, was known to all the fleet; and accordingly, after having been engaged, night and day, in personally making the soundings by which his formidable enemy was to be approached, the hero gave the signal to weigh, at ten o'clock of the 1st of April (a signal which the ships of his division answered with a shout); and, in the Elephant, of 74,—to which his flag had been again shifted, for the sake of lightness—led his squadron (while the rest of the British fleet remained in the offing, idle spectators of the terrible scene), in among the shoals and intricacies of the harbour, and took up his position in front of the tremendous defences of Copenhagen.—We will draw on Colonel Stewart's narrative, as given in these pages, for many particulars of interest relating to the bearing of the great captain throughout these dreadful scenes:—

"On board the Elephant, the night of the 1st of April was an important one. As soon as the fleet was at anchor, the gallant Nelson sat down to table with a large party of his comrades in arms. He was in the highest spirits, and drank to a leading wind, and to the success of the ensuing day. Captains Foley, Hardy, Fremantle, Riou, Inman, his lordship's second in command, Admiral Graves, and a few others to whom he was particularly attached, were of this interesting party: from which every man separated with feelings of admiration for their great leader, and with anxious impatience to follow him to the approaching battle. The signal to prepare for action had been made early in the evening. All the captains retired to their respective ships, Riou excepted, who with Lord Nelson and Foley arranged the order of battle, and those instructions that were to be issued to each ship on the succeeding day. These three officers retired between nine and ten to the after-cabin, and drew up these orders that have been generally published, and which ought to be referred to as the best proof of the arduous nature of the enterprise in which the fleet was about to be engaged. From the previous fatigue of this day, and of the two preceding, Lord Nelson was so much exhausted while dictating his instructions, that it was recommended to him by us all, and, indeed, in-

sisted upon by his old servant, Allen, who assumed much command on these occasions, that he should go to his cot. It was placed on the floor, but from it he still continued to dictate. Captain Hardy returned about eleven, and reported the practicability of the Channel, and the depth of water up to the ships of the enemy's line. Had we abided by this report, in lieu of confiding in our masters and pilots, we should have acted better. The orders were completed about one o'clock, when half a dozen clerks in the foremost cabin proceeded to transcribe them. Lord Nelson's impatience again showed itself; for instead of sleeping undisturbedly, as he might have done, he was every half hour calling from his cot to these clerks to hasten their work, for that the wind was becoming fair: he was constantly receiving a report of this during the night. Their work being finished about six in the morning, his lordship, who was previously up and dressed, breakfasted, and about seven made the signal for all the captains."

"With the returning light, the wind had been announced as becoming perfectly fair. The Pilots, who were, in general, Mates of Trading Vessels from the Ports of Scotland and North of England to the Baltic, and several of the Masters in the Navy, were ordered on board the Elephant between eight and nine o'clock. A most unpleasant degree of hesitation prevailed amongst them all, when they came to the point about the bearing of the east end of the Middle Ground, and about the exact line of deep water in the King's Channel. Not a moment was to be lost; the wind was fair, and the signal made for Action. Lord Nelson urged them to be steady, to be resolute, and to decide. At length Mr. Brierley, the Master of the Bellona, declared himself prepared to lead the Fleet; his example was quickly followed by the rest, they repaired on board of their respective Ships, and at half-past nine the signal was given to weigh in succession."

Unhappily, Nelson's plan for the extension of his line so as to reach the Crown Batteries, was defeated by the grounding of three of his ships of the line on the formidable shoals of the King's Channel. The action began at five minutes past ten:—in about half an hour afterwards, the first half of the fleet was engaged; and before half past eleven the battle was general. A dreadful day was that for the devoted city—whose Crown Prince and all her inhabitants were lookers on—and a dreadful day for all concerned. The Danish defences were deemed by themselves impregnable; and the carnage was fearful. The ships were engaged at nearly a cable's length; and Nelson could get no nearer, through the ignorance of those on whom he depended for a knowledge of the ground. "The same error which had led the two ships on the shoal, induced our master and pilots to dread shoaling their water on the larboard shore; they, therefore, when the lead was a quarter less five, refused to approach nearer, and insisted on the anchor being let go. We afterwards found that had we but approached the enemy's line, we should have deepened our water up to the very sides, and closed with them. As it was, the Elephant engaged in little more than four fathoms."—"The lead," says Colonel Stewart, "was in many ships confided to the master alone; and the contest that arose on board the Elephant, which of the two officers who attended the heaving of it should stand in the larboard chains, was a noble competition, and greatly pleased the heart of Nelson, as he paced the quarter-deck. The action was inevitably prolonged by the distance at which it was fought—and at one o'clock few of the enemy's heavy ships and praams had ceased to fire; while the British ships had suffered severely in their contest at once with currents, shoals, and the guns of the Danes. The moment was one of overwhelming responsibility, no doubt; and in this state of things it was that Sir Hyde Parker threw out his well known signal of recall."

In circumstances so fearfully critical, it is probable that, to a responsibility already so great, no other leader than Nelson would have added the tremendous responsibility of disobedience. Had he failed, in the face of that signal, and been unable to extricate his fleet, even the greatness of his former services must have been insufficient to save him from ruin:—as he persisted, and won—the signal itself was, though to a far less extent, the ruin of Sir Hyde. Yet there is some degree of hardship in judging the Admiral "by that event," brought about in the teeth of probabilities, and which would scarcely have risen up in judgment against him at the conjuration of any other associate than this Hotspur of the Seas. The magnificent result of that day, as the issue of the unquestionable perils to which the British fleet was committed, amounted to little less than a "plucking up of drowned honour by the locks." Southey "upon the highest and most unquestionable authority," states that Sir Hyde Parker made the signal, "from a disinterested and generous feeling"—fearing that, as the wind and current rendered his own division useless for support, Nelson might be left to a defeat. "The fire," he said, "was too hot for Nelson to oppose; a retreat, he thought, must be made. He was aware of the consequences to his own personal reputation; but it would be cowardly in him to leave Nelson to bear the whole shame of the failure, if shame it should be deemed. At the time when the famous signal appeared, Nelson was, says Colonel Stewart—

"Walking the starboard side of the quarter-deck; sometimes much animated, and at others heroically fine in his observations. A shot through the main-mast knocked a few splinters about us. He observed to me, with a smile, 'It is warm work, and this day may be the last to any of us at a moment'; and then stopping short at the gangway, he used an expression never to be erased from my memory, and said with emotion, 'but mark you, I would not be elsewhere for thousands.' When the signal, No. 39, [to discontinue] was made, the Signal Lieutenant reported it to him. He continued his walk, and did not appear to take notice of it. The Lieutenant meeting his Lordship at the next turn asked, 'whether he should repeat it?' Lord Nelson answered, 'No, acknowledge it.' On the Officer returning to the poop, his Lordship called after him, 'Is No. 16 [for close action] still hoisted?' the Lieutenant answering in the affirmative, Lord Nelson said, 'Mind you keep it so.' He now walked the deck considerably agitated, which was always known by his moving the stump of his right arm."

We have already reported some of the characteristic sayings wrung from the great captain by the contending feelings of that hour of crisis. The order was accordingly acknowledged, but not repeated, on board the Elephant. The signal of recall was, however, the means of saving the squadron of frigates under Captain Riou, from destruction. When the ships of the line which had been reckoned on for silencing the Crown battery, grounded, that gallant officer, who had been left with a squadron to perform such service as the exigencies of the day might require, proceeded down the line with his frigates, to supply the blank in the original plan. But his force was quite unequal to the object; and when the signal was displayed at the mast-head of the Admiral, the frigates took advantage of it to extricate themselves, and hauled off. At this moment the brave Riou himself was killed by a raking shot:—

"He was sitting on a gun, was encouraging his men, and had been wounded in the head by a splinter. He had expressed himself grieved at being thus

obliged to retreat, and nobly observed 'What will Nelson think of us?' His Clerk was killed by his side; and by another shot, several of the Marines, while hauling on the main-brace, shared the same fate. Riou then exclaimed, 'Come then, my boys, let us die altogether!' The words were scarcely uttered, when the fatal shot severed him in two. Thus, and in an instant, was the British service deprived of one of its greatest ornaments, and society of a character of singular worth, resembling the heroes of romance."

At two p. m. the greater part of the Danish line had ceased to fire: some of the lighter ships were adrift and the carnage on board of the enemy, who reinforced their crews from the shore, was dreadful. The Dannebrog, the Danish Admiral's ship was set on fire; and went drifting in flames before the wind, spreading terror throughout their own line, and calling into action the humanity of our seamen, whose boats rowed in every direction to save the hostile crew. Contrary to the established usages of war, however, the British boats sent to take possession of such ships of the enemy as had struck their flags, were fired on by the prizes; and it was under these circumstances that Nelson took another of those remarkable steps which have given so peculiar a character to the proceedings of this day, and have been so largely canvassed:—

"To the best of my recollection, (says Col. Stewart,) the facts were as follow. After the Dannebrog was adrift, and had ceased to fire, the Action was found to be over along the whole of the Line astern of us; but not so with the Ships ahead and with the Crown batteries. Whether from ignorance of the custom of war, or from confusion on board the Prizes, our Boats were, as before mentioned, repulsed from the Ships themselves, or fired at from Amak Island. Lord Nelson naturally lost temper at this, and observed, 'That he must either send on shore, and stop this irregular proceeding, or send in our Fire-ships and burn them.' He accordingly retired into the stern gallery, and wrote, with great dispatch, that well known Letter addressed to the Crown Prince, with the address, 'To the Brothers of Englishmen, the brave Danes, &c.' and this Letter was conveyed on shore through the contending Fleets by Captain Sir Frederick Thesiger, who acted as his Lordship's Aid de-camp: and found the Prince near the Sally-port, animating his people in a spirited manner."

The letter is of course given by Sir Harris Nicolas, and is as follows:—

"TO THE BROTHERS OF ENGLISHMEN, THE DANES.

"Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark, when no longer resisting; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, Lord Nelson will be obliged to set on fire all the Floating-batteries he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who have defended them. Dated on board his Britannic Majesty's Ship Elephant, Copenhagen Roads, April 2nd, 1801.

"NELSON AND BRONTE, Vice-Admiral, under the Command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker."

An interesting anecdote relating to this letter, is given by Clarke and M'Arthur—which, though it will be familiar to many of our readers, is worth repeating amidst this assemblage of particulars that throw so much illustration on the professional character of Nelson:—

"In order to show that no hurry had ensued upon the occasion, he sent for a candle to the cockpit, that he might affix a larger seal than usual. The letter being written and carefully folded, he sent for a stick of sealing-wax; the person dispatched for the wax had his head taken off by a cannon-ball; which fact being reported to the Admiral, he merely said, 'Send another messenger for the wax.' It was observed to him, that there were wafers on his table. 'Send for the sealing wax,' he repeated. It was done, and the letter sealed with a large quantity of wax, and a perfect impression. 'May I take the liberty of asking, why, under so hot a fire, and after so lamentable an accident, you have attached so much importance to a circumstance apparently trifling?' 'Had I made use of a wafer,' he replied, 'the wafer would have been still wet when the letter was presented to the Crown Prince; he would have inferred that we had some very pressing reasons for being in a hurry. The wax told no tales.'"

In this extreme anxiety on the part of Nelson to seem perfectly at his ease in the eyes of the Crown Prince, we cannot but think that an argument may be detected, or suspected, in support of those who have always contended that Nelson had other motives for sending a flag of truce ashore than those which he avowed. If they be right, however, it seems to us that in no particular of his life did Nelson ever show more skill and prudence, to temper the fire of his nature, than was displayed by him on this very occasion. The circumstance of a proposal for the suspension of hostilities coming from a victor is an occurrence so unusual,—and this sudden pulling up in full career is, in its first aspect, so little characteristic of Nelson in particular,—that men have naturally turned the incident over, to get at some hidden view. The victor himself alleged humanity as his motive: and Colonel Stewart urges that two solid reasons, not disavowed by the other, are apparent in justification of the measure:—viz., "the necessity of stopping the irregular fire from the ships which had surrendered,—and the singular opportunity that was thus given of sounding the feelings of an enemy who had reluctantly entered into the war, and who must feel the generosity of the first offer of amity coming from a conquering foe."—It is admitted, however, by Colonel Stewart that the firing had not ceased throughout the entire of the enemy's line. "The three ships ahead of us," he says, "were engaged, and from the superiority of the force opposed to them it was by no means improbable that Lord Nelson's observing eye pointed out to him the expediency of a prudent conduct." The Trekroner could neither be stormed nor silenced. The opinions of Nelson's officers were strong as to the policy of removing the British Fleet, whilst the wind yet held fair, from their present intricate channel; and the squadron was now engaged amongst those shoals and batteries at Nelson's sole risk, and in defiance of a higher command. If these were Nelson's influencing motives,—and it is difficult to believe they had nothing to do with the measure in question,—it was, at any rate, important to conceal them from the enemy; and this was done, as we have observed, with great tact. The Crown Prince seems to have been a little mystified, on the occasion; and his answer was a request to be informed more minutely as to the purport of the message. The following explanation was accordingly sent:—

"TO THE GOVERNMENT OF DENMARK

"Elephant, 2nd April, 1801.

"Lord Nelson's object in sending on shore a Flag of Truce is humanity; he, therefore, consents that hostilities shall cease till Lord Nelson can take his prisoners out of the Prizes, and he consents to land all the wounded Danes, and to burn or remove his Prizes. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to His Royal Highness, begs leave to say, that he will ever esteem it the greatest victory he ever gained, if this Flag of Truce may be the happy forerunner of a lasting and happy union between my most gracious Sovereign and his Majesty the King of Denmark."

"NELSON AND BRONTE."

A suspension of hostilities followed: during which Nelson, without a moment's delay, and even while the Danish commissioner was yet engaged on board the admiral's ship in the offing, set about extricating his ships from the shoals, with an eagerness that showed how near to the uppermost of his thoughts lay that object. The following passage, from Colonel Stewart's narrative, should, we think, leave little doubt on the matter. "The intricacies of the channel now showed the great utility of what had been done. The Monarch, as first ship, immediately hit on a shoal, but was pushed over it by the Ganges taking her amidships. The Glatton went clear; but the Defiance and Elephant ran aground, leaving the Crown Battery at a mile distance;—and there they remained fixed, the former until ten o'clock that night, and the latter until eight,—notwithstanding every exertion which their fatigued crews could make to relieve them. Had there been no cessation of hostilities their situation would certainly have been perilous."

The immediate issue of this great enterprise was the entire destruction of the Danish fleet and defences to the southward of the Crown Islands; and its ultimate one an honourable peace with Denmark, and the breaking up at a blow of the confederation of the North. Successes so splendid, and leading to results so important, a country can scarcely pay—but should pay as far as she can. Nelson, however, was still only made a Viscount: but his virtual supersedeas of Sir Hyde Parker in the Baltic command was converted into a real one, as soon as the tidings of his great achievement reached the Admiralty. The blow struck, at Copenhagen, against the coalition of the northern powers was, however, speedily followed by the death of the Emperor Paul. There was little more to do, therefore, in this quarter of Europe; and Nelson returned to England, broken down by fatigue, in June of the same year.

The armistice concluded by Nelson, on this occasion, does not, however, seem to have given entire satisfaction at home. That it was subjected to unkind criticisms, he might have disregarded—on the consideration that such is, more or less, the fate of all treaties; but he was never able to obtain from the government Medals for the officers engaged in the Battle of the Baltic, nor from the City of London its thanks. Both these omissions rankled deeply in his mind: with his usual earnestness and impetuosity he took the singular step of addressing himself directly to the Lord Mayor, in demand of the latter; and, in the exaggeration of his feelings, he declared that he "would not give up" the former "to be made an English duke." It does not appear, on the face of this correspondence, for what reason either of these honours was withheld; but had our space permitted, we would have quoted Nelson's account of his interviews with the Crown Prince of Denmark, which led to the armistice,—for the purpose of presenting, in his own statement, the views by which he was influenced, and exhibiting him in the character of a diplomatist. But we must hurry on.

Scarcely had Nelson begun again to taste the benefits of repose, ere, in deference to the popular alarm at home, occasioned by Napoleon's preparations for a descent on the British shores, he was called upon to take the command of the armament in the Channel. Nothing but the presence of the hero could satisfy the apprehensions of the multitude. The rest of the correspondence in this volume relates principally to the duties of this command and the proceedings of his squadron; but "its nature and details," says Sir Harris Nicolas, "were new and disagreeable to him,"—and this part of the documents yields little that would be interesting to the general reader. The particulars of his unfortunate attempt to cut out the enemy's flotilla from the harbour of Boulogne are familiar to the reader; but on the other hand, "he had the happiness of knowing that, so long as the defence of the coast was in his hands, not even a single boat had been captured by the enemy." But the Peace of Amiens relieved him from a service unworthy of his great name and place:—and the close of the volume leaves him reposing from his labours, and seeking to recruit his shattered health, on a small estate which he had recently purchased in the village of Merton.

MRS. CAUDLE'S CURTAIN LECTURES.

LECTURE THE LAST.

MRS. CAUDLE HAS TAKEN COLD; THE TRAGEDY OF THIN SHOES.

"I'm not going to contradict you, Caudle; you may say what you like—but I think I ought to know my own feelings better than you. I don't wish to upbraid you neither; I'm too ill for that: but it's not getting wet in thin shoes,—oh, no! it's my mind, Caudle, my mind, that's killing me. Oh, yes! gruel, indeed—you think gruel will cure a woman of anything; and you know, too, how I hate gruel. Gruel can't reach what I suffer; but, of course, nobody is ever ill but yourself. Well, I—I didn't mean to say that; but when you talk in that way about thin shoes, a woman says, of course, what she doesn't mean; she can't help it. You've always gone on about my shoes; when I think I'm the fittest judge of what becomes me best. I dare say,—'twould be all the same to you if I put on ploughman's boots; but I'm not going to make a figure of my feet, I can tell you. I've never got cold with the shoes I've worn yet, and 'tisn't likely I should begin now."

"No, Caudle; I wouldn't wish to say anything to accuse you: no, goodness knows, I wouldn't make you uncomfortable for the world,—but the cold I've got, I got ten years ago. I've never said anything about it—but it has never left me. Yes; ten years ago the day before yesterday. *How can I recollect it?* Oh, very well: women remember things you never think of; poor souls! they've good cause to do so. Ten years ago, I was sitting up for you,—there, now, I'm not going to say anything to vex you, only let me speak: ten years ago, I was sitting up for you, and I fell asleep, and the fire went out, and when I woke I found I was sitting right in the draft of the key-hole. That was my death, Caudle, though don't let that make you uneasy, love; for I don't think you meant to do it."

"Ha! it's all very well for you to call it nonsense; and to lay your ill-conduct upon my shoes. That's like a man, exactly! There never was a man yet that killed his wife, who couldn't give a good reason for it. No; I don't mean to say that you've killed me: quite the reverse: still, there's never been a day that I haven't felt that key-hole. What? *Why don't I have a doctor?* What's the use of a doctor? Why should I put you to expense? Besides, I dare say you'll do very well without me, Caudle: yes, after a very little time, you won't miss me much—no man ever does."

"Peggy tells me, Miss Prettyman called to-day. *What of it?* Nothing, of course. Yes; I know she heard I was ill, and that's why she came. A little indecent, I think, Mr. Caudle; she might wait; I shan't be in her way long; she may soon have the key of the caddy, now."

"Ha! Mr. Caudle, what's the use of calling me your dearest soul now? Well, I do believe you. I dare say you do mean it; that is, I hope you do. Nevertheless, you can't expect I can lie quiet in this bed, and think of that young woman—not, indeed, that she's near so young as she gives herself out. I bear no malice towards her, Caudle—not the least. Still, I don't

think I could lie at peace in my grave if—well, I won't say anything about her; but you know what I mean."

"I think dear mother would keep house beautifully for you, when I'm gone. Well, love, I won't talk in that way if you desire it. Still, I know I've a dreadful cold; though I won't allow it for a minute to be the shoes—certainly not. I never would wear 'em thick, and you know it, and they never gave me cold yet. No, dearest Caudle, it's ten years ago that did it; not that I'll say a syllable of the matter to hurt you. I'd die first."

"Mother, you see, knows all your little ways; and you wouldn't get another wife to study you and pet you up as I've done—a second wife never does; it isn't likely they should. And after all, we've been very happy. It hasn't been my fault, if we've ever had a word or two, for you couldn't help now and then being aggravating; nobody can help their tempers always,—especially men. Still, we've been very happy, haven't we, Caudle?"

"Good night. Yes,—this cold does tear me to pieces; but for all that, it isn't the shoes. God bless you, Caudle; no,—it's *not* the shoes. I won't say it's the key-hole; but again I say, it's not the shoes. God bless you once more—But never say it's the shoes."

It can hardly, we think, be imagined that Mrs. Caudle, during her fatal illness, never mixed admonishment with soothing as before; but such fragmentary Lectures were, doubtless, considered by her disconsolate widower as having too touching, too solemn an import to be vulgarized by type. They were, however, printed on the heart of Caudle; for he never ceased to speak of the late partner of his bed but as either "his sainted creature," or "that angel now in heaven."

POSTSCRIPT.

Our duty of editorship is closed. We hope we have honestly fulfilled the task of selection from a large mass of papers. We could have presented to the female world a Lecture for Every Night in the year. Yes,—three hundred and sixty-five separate Lectures! We trust, however, that we have done enough. And if we have armed weak women with even one argument in her unequal contest with that imperious creature, man—if we have awarded to a sex, as Mrs. Caudle herself was wont to declare, "put upon from the beginning," the slightest means of defence—if we have supplied a solitary text to meet any one of the manifold wrongs with which woman, in her household life, is continually oppressed by her tyrannic taskmaster, man,—we feel that we have only paid back one grain, hardly one, of that mountain of more than gold it is our felicity to owe her.

During the progress of these Lectures, it has very often pained us, and that excessively, to hear from unthinking, inexperienced men—bachelors of course—that every woman, no matter how divinely composed, has in her ichor-flowing veins, one drop—"no bigger than a wren's eye"—of Caudle; that Eve herself may now and then have been guilty of a lecture, murmuring it balmy amongst the rose leaves.

It may be so: still, be it our pride never to believe it. NEVER!

* * *There are other CAUDLE PAPERS extant. Some of these may, possibly, be presented to the universe in our next volume. From these documents the world will then learn, in the words of his wronged wife, "what an aggravating man CAUDLE really was!" Yes; the world will, AT LAST, know him, "as well as she did."*

LONDON CLUB HOUSES.

For the origin of these establishments the public are indebted to the military. The officers of the army, whether in camp or in quarters, have always experienced the advantage and economy of clubbing for their provisions. They have found that the pay of each individual, spent separately, would scarcely procure him ordinary necessities; whilst by adding it to a general fund—to be judiciously disbursed by a clever provider or 'caterer'—he obtains for his subsistence not only requisites, but luxuries. This goes on very successfully during the active service; but when retirement on half pay takes place, the plan was, till lately, impracticable. At the peace of 1815, a reduction of the army withdrew a number of officers from the 'messes' to which they had belonged. Thus a great many gentlemen of comparatively limited means were thrown into private life, a prey to the by no means moderate exactions of hotel, tavern, and lodging house keepers. In many instances long and continued absence from home had severed these brave men from domestic ties; yet having always lived amongst a congenial brotherhood, society was essential to their happiness. The chief refuge for such comparatively desolate warriors in London was at that period 'Slaughter's Coffee-house,' St. Martin's Lane; a very excellent abode when full pay and prize money were rife, but far too expensive for 'half-pay.' In these circumstances the mess system was naturally thought of, and the late General Lord Lynedoch, with five brother officers, met for the purpose of devising a plan by which it could be applied to non-professional life. So effectual were their deliberations, and so well grounded their preliminary measures, that a club was formed during the same year (1815). The military founders, knowing that many of their naval brethren were, like themselves, placed upon reduced allowances, afterwards brought them within the scope of their design; and an association was enrolled, entitled the 'United Service Club.' A building fund was formed; a neat edifice—the design of Sir Robert Smirke—was raised at the corner of Charles Street, St. James's, and in the year 1819 it was opened for the reception of the members. A society of sailor officers also established a snug home of their own in Bond Street, called the 'Naval,' which now consists of about 350 members. Meanwhile candidates for admission to the United Service Club increased so rapidly, that a larger habitation was rendered necessary. A new and magnificent edifice, from plans and designs by Mr. Nash, the architect of Buckingham Palace, was erected at the east corner of the grand entrance of St. James's Park from Pall Mall, and taken possession of in 1828. At present there are about 1490 members.

By the second rule of this club, no officer is eligible below the rank of major in the army, and commander in the navy; but to provide for officers below those grades, a new association was formed, for the reception of all ranks, from general and admiral, down to subalterns, either in the Queen's or in the East India Company's service. Having purchased the house in Charles Street vacated by the senior club, the new one was opened in 1827, under the title of the 'Junior United Service Club.' It is now the most numerous in London, being composed of 1500 'effective' members, with 400 'supernumeraries,' who being abroad, are not called on to pay their subscriptions.

Besides these three establishments, the officers belonging to her majesty's household troops had an exclusive club of their own, commenced so far back as 1809, though not for domestic purposes. But latterly they imitated the other clubs, and built a tall, thin, but withal pretty edifice, squeezed in, as it

were, between Crockford's gaming house and their own bootmaker's shop—that of the well known Hoby—at the head of St James's Street, and nearly opposite to White's celebrated bow window. This, called the 'Guards,' made the fourth club composed of Military men: but candidates for admission to all of these had, by 1837, so far exceeded the limits set to each, that a fifth, called the 'Army and Navy Club,' was instituted in St James's Square, to which about a thousand members already belong. We may now fairly conclude that the officers in the British service are at last adequately provided with cheap accommodation during their residence in London: and not only there, but in provincial quarters also; for United Service Clubs exist in all the important garrison towns of Great Britain.

The original United Service Club had been scarcely founded, when news of the comfort and economy it afforded was spread throughout all classes amongst whom similar associations were practicable. As may be expected, those most gregarious in their pursuits and habits first copied the plan. Many members of the universities, who, when at college, daily met to dine 'in hall,' or, for instruction, in lecture rooms, found themselves inconveniently alone when in London. They therefore instituted and built a club called the 'United University'—a very grave and reverend looking edifice, which occupies the corner of Suffolk Street and Pall-Mall east. This association consisted, in 1841 (to which year most of our returns refer), of 1116 members—Another club for the same class of men was afterwards called into existence in Pall Mall, and named the 'Oxford and Cambridge,' whose average number of members is 1177.

Next to the army and the church, it is usual to take the law into consideration. Gentlemen of this profession having formed, in Chancery Lane, an institution for purely professional purposes, attached to it a domestic club, which, in 1841, numbered about 350. The higher branches of the profession appear to require no especial establishment of the kind. Consisting mostly of members of the universities, or of literary men, they belong to the United University, to the Oxford and Cambridge, or the Athenæum. Of the last, a large proportion of the judges are members. To complete our review of the club life of the learned professions, we must make a single allusion to the medical faculty. Their lives are too incessantly passed in alleviating the maladies of society, to partake very largely in its comforts and pleasures. Hence, of medical domestic clubs, 'there are'—to borrow a terse chapter on 'the antidotes to corrosive sublimate' from an ancient toxicological work—'none!' The names of a few physicians may, however, be found amongst the lists of the miscellaneous and literary clubs, but they are almost honorary members. Of all the professional clubs, none received so much support, or has reason to so much distinction as that established for literary scientific men and artists—the 'Athenæum,' whose gorgeous mansion stands at the west corner of Pall-Mall entrance to St James's Park, and forms a fine contrast to the more severely tasteful 'United Service' on the opposite side. The history of this institution is more than usually interesting, from including the names of the brightest ornaments of each department of the arts. We learn that on the 12th of March 1823 Mr. Croker, then secretary to the Admiralty, addressed a letter to Sir Humphrey Davy, in which he represented that 'the fashionable and military clubs had not only absorbed a great portion of society; but have spoiled all the coffee rooms and taverns;' and urged the formation of a club for the classes referred to. In the year following, a committee was formed consisting of Sir H. Davy, president of the Royal Society, the Earl of Aberdeen, president of the Society of Antiquaries, Sir Thomas Lawrence, president of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Walter Scott, Samuel Rogers, John Wilson Croker, and other noblemen and gentlemen connected with literature and art, to the number of twenty nine. At first they were housed in temporary apartments in Waterloo Place, but in 1830, the new mansion was finished from the designs of Mr. Decimus Burton, at a cost of £45,000 including furniture. The nominal limit of members is 1200, but certain honorary elections of eminent persons swell the actual roll to 1250 names. In such high estimation is the club held, that belonging to it is deemed a guarantee for the greatest respectability.

The lesser stars of the literary firmament formed themselves, like the 'Junior United Service,' into a minor club, and took possession of the house vacated by the Athenæum. This was for some years called the 'Literary Union;' but having gradually admitted individuals unconnected with letters, it changed its title to the 'Clarendon.' Since then it gradually languished, and died in 1843.—Gentlemen connected with the theatrical profession, either as authors, performers, or scene painters, enjoy each other's society at the 'Garrick,' which is conveniently situated near the best theatres in Covent Garden. They form the smallest body of London Clubbists, only amounting to 197. Our list of professional clubs is completed by the mention of those set aside for the mercantile community near the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange. One, called the 'City,' stands in Old Broad Street, and is made up of 600 members; and the other known as the 'Gresham,' is scarcely yet settled in its new house in King William Street. Another commercial club is now in progress of formation, with the high sounding title of the 'St George.' It is to be composed of gentlemen interested in railways.

Thus the most numerous London clubs are those made up of individuals attracted to social and domestic companionship by pursuing similar professional careers. In a few others, the basis is community of politics. The 'Carlton Club' consists of members of parliament and others professing Tory principles, to the number of 1200. The 'Conservative Club' sufficiently indicates, by its name, the party to which its members (of whom there are upwards of 1000) belong; as does the 'Reform Club,' to which 1421 reformers are attached. It must, however, be understood that these associations do not exist for political purposes—do not profess, as bodies, to take any share in public events whatever. It is the mere congeniality of political sentiment which attracts the members, to share the same accommodations for the ordinary requirements of existence. They must not, therefore, be confounded with what are called the 'St James's Street Clubs,' such as White's and Brookes's, which are of a more decidedly political character, and are conducted on a different principle. As in the days of Dryden and his companions—when the original White and Brookes flourished—they remain the property of tavern keepers, who are licensed by the magistrates in the same manner as the proprietors of public hotels and taverns. But they only admit their subscribers. These select a committee to manage the internal affairs of the house; such as deciding who shall be admitted, and fixing the charges for refreshments to be made by the proprietors. As before explained, they are of much older date than domestic clubs. Recently, they have lost much of their political character, and are now considered principally as lounges for people of little occupation.

To be eligible for admission to the 'Travellers' Club,' a gentleman must either be a foreigner, or have travelled at least five hundred miles in a straight line from London. It numbers 700 members, amongst whom are several authors; for in these days there are few persons who, having 'done' their five

hundred miles or more, refrain from favouring the world with their journals, or notes of travel, in the form of one or more octavo volumes. There is another and much larger class of travellers to whom the convenience of a club is a great boon; namely, such gentlemen as are connected, either in a civil or military capacity, with our vast Indian possessions. Those on the retired or on the sick list, who either reside permanently, or are visiting London for a year or two, are provided for by the 'Oriental.' Their elegant establishment stands on the sunny side of Hanover Square, and, in 1841, accommodated 523 members.

It must be obvious that numerous individuals—besides those who have been able to class themselves into separate bodies from the similar nature of their pursuits—remain ineligible for admission to any of the establishments we have enumerated. They therefore find refuge in what go by the designation of Miscellaneous Clubs. Many of these started as class clubs; but—by the gradual admission of very agreeable companions unconnected with the profession or class of which the society was composed, or from an inability to keep their funds by a too rigid selection of candidates—they have become generalised. The 'Alfred' (23 Albemarle Street) was originally a whist club; but, like the Guards, adopted the domestic system, added a coffee room, and became miscellaneous. The 'Windham'—which borrowed the name of William Windham, an eminent senator, who was secretary-at-war till 1801—started as a political, but is now a miscellaneous club of 613 members. The 'Parthenon' (732 strong), and the 'Erectheum' (250), are both miscellaneous. Into the latter opulent tradesmen are admitted. But of all the non professional clubs, none stands so high as the 'Union,' which accommodates its 1025 members in Cockspur Street. It was formed soon after the United Service, and boasted at one time of no fewer than 400 members of both houses of Parliament.

We have now completed the list of London clubs. It should be understood that the aggregate of the members set down to each far exceeds the number of individuals. Many men belong to more than one; and the vanity of some who can afford it, induces them to get admission into four, five, or even six, should they be eligible. For instance, a soldier—one of a military club—may be also a scientific man, and get into the Athenæum; he may have travelled, and be on the roll of the Travellers. Should he have been in the East, he may join the Oriental; and all the miscellaneous clubs are open to him. Some imagine that, having passed the ordeal of so many scrutinising ballots, they obtain great eclat and importance in society. Characters of this stamp form a new generation; they are essentially, and to all intents and purposes, club men. Having been created by clubs in clubs they have their being. They are perfectly conversant with the domestic arrangements of each establishment. They know to a nicety at which house the most perfect soups are served; from which of the kitchens the best soufflés are waited; and can tell to a day when the best bin of the United University's claret was bottled. They are also oracles in higher things. Constantly 'looking in' at the morning rooms of the political clubs, they are able to prognosticate the precise number of a majority on any important parliamentary question. Their frequent visits to libraries, and intercourse with authors, give them an extensive acquaintance with literary matters, and they will name the writer of an anonymous work on the day of publication. They have a vast number and variety of acquaintances, and speak familiarly of my friend the duke, because 'he is a member of our club.'

Their extensive connoisseurship in small details of management, makes them valuable 'house' committee men, and in that character they look uncommonly sharp after the goings on of the servants and the quality of the edibles. Some, again, are not so fortunate as to 'obtain office,' especially those who endeavour to get into it by dint of grumbling. Like Hector Boreall in one of Pool's clever though exaggerated sketches, those troublesome members write furious complaints on the backs of their dinner bills, because, perhaps, the cook sends up two sprigs of fennel instead of three with a mackerel, and 'cracks the skin near the tail.' This sort of clubbist is the horror of committees, the dread of servants, and the terror of members, whom he is constantly canvassing for support for his frivolous complaints at the general meetings; enforcing his arguments by the incessant question, 'What do we pay our six guineas a year for?' Men of this sort are appropriately called 'bores,' and happily form a very small minority in club life. Apart from such exceptions, a more agreeable person than your regular club man does not exist. The variety of information he possesses, the freedom and ease with which he imparts it, and the excellence of his manners, make him a most popular character in general society; from which his clubs do not withdraw him, as we have before argued.

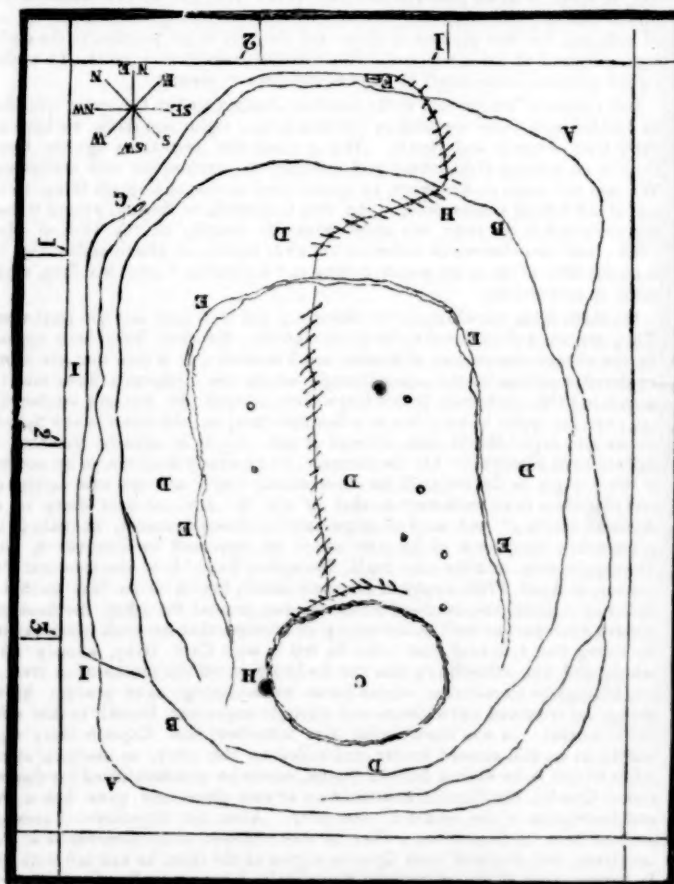
ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO THE VOLCANO OF KIRAUUA, IN OWHYHEE, SANDWICH ISLANDS, IN SEPTEMBER 1844.

[To the Editor of Blackwood's Magazine. Sir,—The accompanying narrative was originally sent from the Sandwich Islands in the shape of a letter. Since my return to England, it has been suggested to me that it would suit your pages. If you think so I shall be happy to place it at your disposal. The ground-plan annexed is intended merely to assist the description: it has no pretensions to strict accuracy, the distances have been estimated, not measured.—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

AN OFFICER OF THE ROYAL NAVY.]

The ship being about to proceed to Byron's Bay, (the Hilo of the natives,) on the N.E. side of Owhyhee, to water, the captain arranged, that to give an opportunity to all those who wished to visit the volcano, distant from the anchorage forty miles, the excursion should be made in two parties. Having anchored on Wednesday the 11th of September, he and several of the officers left Hilo early on the 12th; they travelled on horseback, and returned on the ensuing Monday, highly delighted with their trip, but giving a melancholy description of the road, which they pronounced to be in some places impassable to people on foot. This latter intelligence was disheartening to the second division, some of whom, and myself of the number, had intended to walk. These, notwithstanding, adhered to their resolution; and the second party, consisting of eight, left the ship at 6 A.M. on Tuesday. Some on horseback, and some on foot, we got away from the village about eight o'clock, attended by thirteen natives, to whose calabashes our prog and clothing had been transferred; these calabashes answer this purpose admirably; they are gourds of enormous size, cut through rather above their largest diameter, which is from eighteen inches to two feet; the half of another gourd forms the lid, and keeps all clean and dry within; when filled, they are hung by network to each end of a pole thrown across the shoulders of a native, who will thus travel with a load of fifty or sixty pounds about three miles an hour. The day was fine and bright, and we started in high spirits, the horsemen hardly able to conceal their exultation in their superiority over the walkers, whilst they cantered over the plain from which our ascent commenced; this, 4000 feet al-

most gradual in forty miles, is not fatiguing; and thus, although we found the path through a wood about three miles long, very deep, and the air oppressive, we all arrived together without distress at the "half way house," by 1 P.M. Suppose a haystack hollowed out, and some holes cut for doors and windows, and you have a picture of the "half-way house" and the ordinary dwellings of the natives of these islands; it is kept by a respectable person, chiefly for the accommodation of travellers, and in it we found the comfort of a table, a piece of furniture by these people usually considered superfluous. Here we soon made ourselves snug, commencing by throwing ourselves on the mats, and allowing a dozen vigorous urchins to "rumi rumi" us. In this process of shampooing, every muscle is kneaded or beaten; the refreshing luxury it affords can only be perfectly appreciated by those who have, like us, walked twenty miles on a bad road, in a tropical climate. Here we were to stay the night, and our first object was to prepare dinner and then to eat it; all seemed disposed to assist in the last part of this operation, and where every one was anxious to please, and determined to be pleased, sociability could not be absent. After this we whiled away our time with books and conversation, till one by one dropping asleep, all became quiet, except a wretched child belonging to our hostess, who, from one corner of the hut, every now and then set up its shrill pipe to disturb our slumbers. We were on the march the next morning at six, the walkers more confident than the horsemen, some of whose beasts did not seem at all disposed for another day's work. Our road lay for the most part through immense seas of lava, in the crevices of which a variety of ferns had taken root, and, though relieving the otherwise triste appearance, in many places shut out our view of any thing besides. Two of the walkers, and some of the horsemen, came in at the journey's end, shortly after eleven o'clock; the remainder, some leaving their horses behind them, straggled in by two P.M. Here we were at the crater! Shall I confess that my first feeling was disappointment? The plan shows some distance between the outer and inner rims, immediately below the place where the house (F) is situated; this is filled up by another level, which shuts out a great part of the prospect; the



Explanation of Plan:—

- A A The outer rim.
 B B The inner rim.
 C The active crater.
 D D D D The surface of the large crater.
 E E E E The dike.
 F The house.
 G The hut.
 H H Track to and from crater.
 I I Track of party on Wednesday night.
 O O O O O O Cones in large crater.

remainder was too distant, and the sun's rays too powerful, to allow of our seeing more than a quantity of smoke, and an occasional fiery ebullition from the further extremity. It was not until we had walked to the hut (G) that we became sensible of the awful grandeur of the scene below; from this point we looked perpendicularly down on the blackened mass, and felt our insignificance. The path leads between many fissures in the ground, from which sulphurous vapour and steam issue; the latter, condensing on the surrounding bushes, and falling into holes in the compact lava, affords a supply of most excellent water. As evening set in, the active volcano assumed from the house the appearance of a city in flames; long intersecting lines of fire looked like streets in a blaze; and when here and there a more conspicuous burst took place, fancy pictured a church or some large building a prey to the element. Not contented with this distant view, three of our party started for the hut, whence in the afternoon we had so fine a prospect. When there, although our curiosity was highly gratified, it prompted us to see more; so, pressing a native into our service, we proceeded along the brink of the N.W. side, until, being nearly half-way round the outer circle of the crater, we had hoped to obtain almost a bird's-eye view of the active volcano; we were therefore extremely chagrined to find, that as we drew nearer our object, it was completely shut out by a ridge below the one on which we stood. Our walking had thus far been very difficult, if not dangerous, and this, with the fatigues of the morning, had nearly exhausted our perseverance. We determined, however,

to make another effort before giving it up, and were repaid by the discovery of a spur which led us down, and thence through a short valley to the point where our track (I) terminates. We came in sight of the crater as we crested the hill; the view from hence was most brilliant. The crater appeared nearly circular, and was traversed in all directions by what seemed canals of fire intensely bright; several of these radiated from a centre near the N.E. edge, so as to form a star, from which a coruscation, as if of jets of burning gas, was emitted. In other parts were furnaces in terrible activity, and undergoing continual change, sometimes becoming comparatively dark, and then bursting forth, throwing up torrents of flame and molten lava. All around the edge it seemed exceedingly agitated, and a noise like surf was audible; otherwise the stillness served to heighten the effect upon the senses, which it would be difficult to describe. The waning moon warned us to return, and reluctantly we retraced our steps; it required care to do this, so that we did not get back to the house before midnight. Worn out with the day's exertions, we threw ourselves on the ground and fell asleep, but not before I had resolved the possibility of standing at the brink of the active crater after nightfall. In the morning we matured the plan, which was to descend by daylight, so as to reconnoitre our road, to return to dinner, and then, if we thought it practicable, to leave the house about 5 P.M., and to remain in the large crater till after night set in. The only objection to this scheme (and it was a most serious one) was, that when we mentioned it to the guides, they appeared completely horror-struck at the notion of it. Here, as elsewhere in the neighbourhood of volcanic activity, the common people have a superstitious dread of a presiding deity; in this place, especially, where they are scarcely rescued from heathenism, we were not surprised to find it. This, and their personal fears, (no human being ever having, as the natives assured us, entered the crater in darkness,) we then found insuperable: all we could do was to take the best guides we were able to procure with us by daylight, so that they should refresh their memories as to the locale, and ascertain if any change had taken place since their last visit, and trust to being able during our walk to persuade one to return with us in the evening. Accordingly we all left the house after breakfast, following the track marked (H), which led us precipitously down, till we landed on the surface of the large crater, an immense sheet of scorific lava cooled suddenly from a state of fusion: the upheaved waves and deep hollows evidencing that congelation has taken place before the nightly agitation has subsided. It is dotted with cones 60 or 70 feet high, and extensively intersected by deep cracks, from both of which sulphurous smoke ascends. It is surrounded by a wall about twelve miles in circumference, in most parts 1000 feet deep. I despair of conveying an idea of what our sensations were, when we first launched out on this fearful pit to cross to the active crater at the further end. With all the feeling of insecurity that attends treading on unsafe ice, was combined the utter sense of helplessness the desolation of the scene encouraged; it produced a sort of instinctive dread, such as brutes might be supposed to feel in such situations. This, however, soon left us, and attending our guides, who led us away to the right for about a mile, we turned abruptly to the left, and came upon a deep dike, which, running concentric with the sides, terminates near the active crater with which it conceals its bottom is on a level. The lava had slipped into it where we crossed, and the loose blocks were difficult to scramble over. In the lowest part where these had not fallen, the fire appeared immediately beneath the surface. The guides here evinced great caution, trying with their poles before entering their weight; the heat was intense, and made us glad to find ourselves again on terra firma, if that expression may be allowed where the walking was exceedingly disagreeable, owing to the hollowness of the lava, formed in great bubbles, that continually broke and let us in up to our knees. This dike has probably been formed by the drainage of the volcano by a lateral vent, as the part of the crater which it confines has sunk lower than that outside it, and the contraction caused by loss of heat may well account for its width, which varies from one to three hundred yards. In support of this opinion, I may mention, that in 1840 a molten river broke out, eight miles to the eastward, and, in some places six miles broad, rolled down to the sea, where it materially altered the line of coast. From where we crossed, there is a gradual rise until within 200 yards of the volcano, when the surface dips to its margin. Owing to this we came suddenly in view of it, and, lost in amazement, walked silently on to the brink. To the party who had made the excursion the previous evening, the surprise was not so great as to the others; moreover, a bright noonday sun, and a floating mirage which made it difficult to discern the real from the deceptive, robbed the scene of much of its brilliancy; still it was truly sublime, as a feeble attempt at description will show. This immense caldron, two and three quarter miles in circumference, is filled to within twenty feet of its brim with red molten lava, over which lies a thin scum resembling the slag on a smelting furnace. The whole surface was in fearful agitation. Great rollers followed each other to the side, and, breaking, disclosed deep edges of crimson. These were the canals of fire we had noticed the night before diverging from a common centre, and the furnaces in equal activity; while what had appeared to us like jets of gas, proved to be fiery spurts of lava, thrown up from all parts of the lake (though principally from the focus near the N.E. edge) a height of thirty feet. Most people probably would have been satisfied with having witnessed this magnificent spectacle; but our admiration was so little exhausted, that the idea continually suggested itself, "How grand would this be by night!" The party who had encountered the difficulties of the walk the night before, were convinced that no greater ones existed in that of to-day; and therefore, if it continued fine, and we would induce the guide to accompany us the project was feasible. The aversion of one of these ultimately overcame his fears, and, under his direction, we again left the house at 5 P.M., and, returning by our old track, reached the hill above the crater about the time the sun set, though long after it had sunk below the edge of the pit. Here we halted, and smoking our cigars lit from the cracks (now red-hot) which we had passed unnoticed in the glare of the sunlight, waited until it became quite dark, when we moved on; and, great as had been our expectations, we found them faint compared with the awful sublimity of the scene before us. The slag now appeared semi-transparent, and so extensively perforated as to show one sheet of liquid fire, its waves rising high, and pouring over each other in magnificent confusion, forming a succession of cascades of unequalled grandeur: the canals, now incandescent, the restless activity of the numerous vents throwing out great volumes of molten lava, the terrible agitation, and the brilliancy of the jets, which, shooting high in the air, fell with an echoless, lead like sound, breaking the otherwise impressive stillness; formed a picture that language (at least any that I know) is quite inadequate to describe. We felt this; for no one spoke except when betrayed into an involuntary burst of amazement. On our hands and knees we crawled to the brink, and lying at full length, and shading our faces with paper, looked down at the fiery breakers as they dashed against the side of the basin beneath.

The excessive heat, and the fact that the spray was frequently dashed over the edge put a stop to this fool-hardiness; but at a more rational distance we stood gazing, with our feelings of wonder and awe so intensely excited, that we paid no regard to the entreaties of our guide to quit the spot. He at last persuaded us of the necessity of doing so, by pointing to the moon, and her distance above the dense cloud which hung, a lurid canopy, above the crater. Taking a last look, we "fell in" in Indian file, and got back to the house, with no further accident than a few bruises, about ten o'clock. The walk had required caution, and it was long after I had closed my eyes ere the retina yielded the impressions that had been so nervously drawn on them. The next morning at nine, we started on our return to the ship, sauntering leisurely along, picking strawberries by the way, and enjoying all the satisfaction inherent to the successful accomplishment of an undertaking. With health and strength for any attempt, we had been peculiarly favoured by the weather, and had thus done more than any who had preceded us. Our party, under these circumstances, was most joyous; so that, independent of the object, the relaxation itself was such as we creatures of habit and discipline seldom experience.

To make this narrative more intelligible, it will be necessary to describe briefly the position and general features of this volcano, which does not, like most others, spring from a cone, but has excavated for itself a bed in the side of Mowna Roa, which rises 14,000 feet above the level of the sea; it is about sixteen miles distant from the summit of the mountain, wherein is an enormous extinct crater, from which this is probably the outlet; it is 4000 feet above the level of the sea, and twenty miles from the nearest coast line. Several distinct levels in the present crater prove that it has eaten its way to its present depth. On the most elevated of these large trees now grow, evidences of many years' tranquillity; lower down we come to shrubs, and lastly to the fern, apparently the most venturesome of the vegetable kingdom; it seems to require nothing but rest and water, for we found it shooting out of crevices where the lava appeared to have undergone no decomposition. Nowhere, I conceive, (not even in Iceland,) can be seen such stupendous volcanic efforts as in Owhyhee. The whole island, eighty-six miles long by seventy broad, and rising, as it does at Mowna Keah, more than 15,000 feet above the sea, would seem to have been formed by layers of lava imposed at different periods. Some of these have followed quickly on each other; while the thickness of soil, made up of vegetable mould and decomposed lava, indicates a long interval of repose between others. The present surface is comparatively recent, though there is no tradition of any but partial eruptions.

"O Lord! how manifold are Thy works: in wisdom hast Thou made them all!"

We reached the village the next day at 1 P.M. and after a refreshing bath, returned on board to find the ship prepared for sea, to which we proceeded the following morning at four o'clock.

OREGON.—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

In order to set the whole matter of negotiations between the United States and Great Britain on the Oregon question in a clear point of view, we give the following extracts from Protocols of the London conferences on that subject, which took place in 1824 and 1826:

Protocol of the twenty third conference, July 13, 1824.—Extract from the British paper.

"The boundary line between the territories claimed by his Britannic Majesty and those claimed by the United States, to the west, in both cases, of the Rocky mountains, shall be drawn due west along the 49th parallel of north latitude, to the point where that parallel strikes the great northeasternmost branch of the Oregon or Columbia river—marked in the maps as McGillivray's river—thence down along the middle of the Oregon or Columbia, to its junction with the Pacific ocean: the navigation of the whole channel being perpetually free to the subjects and citizens of both parties; the said subjects and citizens being also reciprocally at liberty, during the term of ten years from the date hereof, to pass and repass, by land and by water: and to navigate, with their vessels and merchandise, all the rivers, bays, harbors, and creeks, as heretofore on either side of the above-mentioned line: and to trade with all and any of the nations free of duty or impost of any kind, subject only to such local regulations as, in other respects, either of the two contracting parties may find it necessary to enforce within its own limits, and prohibited from furnishing the natives with firearms, and other exceptionable articles, to be hereafter enumerated: and it is further especially agreed that neither of the high contracting parties, their respective subjects or citizens, shall, henceforward, form any settlements within the limits assigned hereby to the other west of the Rocky mountains—it being at the same time understood that any settlements already formed by the British to the south and east of the boundary line above described, or by citizens of the United States to the north and west of the same line, shall continue to be occupied and enjoyed, at the pleasure of the present proprietors or occupants, without let or hindrance of any kind, until the expiration of the above-mentioned term of years from the date hereof."

Protocol of the third conference, December 1, 1826.

"The British plenipotentiaries, in order to evince the earnest desire of their government to afford every facility to the final adjustment of the question of boundary, submitted the following terms of accommodation, with a view to their reference to the American government:

"That, considering that the possession of a safe and commodious port on the northwest coast of America, fitted for the reception of large ships might be an object of great interest and importance to the United States, and that no such port was to be found between the 42d degree of latitude and the Columbia river Great Britain, in still adhering to that river, as a basis, was willing so far to modify her former proposal as to concede, as far as she was concerned, to the United States, the possession of Port Discovery, a most valuable harbor on the southern coast of De Fuca's inlet; and to annex thereto all that tract of country comprised within a line to be drawn from Cape Flattery, along the southern shore of De Fuca's inlet, to point Wilson, at the northwestern extremity of Admiralty inlet; from thence along the western shore of that inlet, across the entrance of Hood's inlet, to the point of land forming the northeastern extremity of the said inlet; from thence along the eastern shore of that inlet to the southern extremity of the same; from thence direct to the southern extremity of Gray's harbor; from thence along the shore of the Pacific to Cape Flattery, as before mentioned.

"They were further willing to stipulate, that no works should at any time be erected at the entrance of the river Columbia, or upon the banks of the same that might be calculated to impede or hinder the free navigation thereof by the vessels or boats of either party."

"The British plenipotentiaries, * * * protested against the offer of concession so made being ever taken in any way to prejudice the claims of Great Britain included in her proposal of 1824; and declared that the offer now made was considered by the British government as not called for by any just comparison of the grounds of those claims and of the counter-claim of the United States, but rather as a sacrifice which the British government had consented to make, with a view to obviate all evils of future difference in respect to the territory west of the Rocky mountains."

The following documents, together with preliminary correspondence relating to the subject of Oregon, but all mere matter of form, accompany the Message of the President to the present Congress:—

WASHINGTON, 3d September, 1844.

The undersigned, American plenipotentiary, declines the proposal of the British plenipotentiary, on the ground that it would have the effect of restricting the possessions of the United States to limits far more circumscribed than their claims clearly entitle them to. It proposes to limit their northern boundary by a line drawn from the Rocky Mountains along the 49th parallel of latitude to the northeasternmost branch of the Columbia river, and thence down the middle of that river to the sea—giving to Great Britain all the country north, and to the United States all south, of that line, except a detached territory extending on the Pacific and the straits of Fuca, from Bulfinch's harbor to Hood's canal. To which it is proposed, in addition, to make free to the United States any port which the United States government might desire, either on the main land or on Vancouver's island, south of latitude 49 degs.

By turning to the map heretofore annexed, and on which the proposed boundary is marked in pencil, it will be seen that it assigns to Great Britain almost the entire region (on its north side) drained by the Columbia river, lying on its northern bank. It is not deemed necessary to state at large the claims of the United States to this territory, and the grounds on which they rest, in order to make good the assertion that it restricts the possessions of the United States within narrower bounds than they are clearly entitled to. It will be sufficient for this purpose to show that they are fairly entitled to the entire region drained by the river, and to the establishment of this point, the undersigned proposes accordingly to limit his remarks at present.

Our claims to the portion of the territory drained by the Columbia river may be divided into those we have in our own proper right, and those we have derived from France and Spain. We ground the former, as against Great Britain, on priority of discovery and priority of exploration and settlement. We rest our claim to discovery, as against her, on that of Captain Gray, a citizen of the United States, who, in the ship Columbia, of Boston, passed its bars and anchored in the river, ten miles above its mouth, on the 11th of May, 1792; and who afterwards sailed up the river twelve or fifteen miles, and left it on the 20th of the same month, calling it "Columbia," after his ship, which name it still retains.

On these facts our claim to the discovery and entrance into the river rests. They are too well attested to be controverted. But they have been opposed by the alleged discoveries of Meares and Vancouver. It is true that the former explored a portion of the coast through which the Columbia flows into the ocean, in 1788, (five years before Capt. Gray crossed the bar and anchored in the river,) in order to ascertain whether the river, as laid down in the Spanish charts, and called the St. Roc, existed or not: but it is equally true that he did not even discover it. On the contrary, he expressly declares, in his account of the voyage, as the result of his observations, that "we can now safely assert that there is no such river as that of the St. Roc, as laid down in the Spanish charts;" and, as if to perpetuate his disappointment, he called the promontory lying north of the inlet where he expected to discover it, Cape Disappointment, and the inlet itself, Deception Bay. It is also true that Vancouver, in April, 1792, explored the same coast; but it is no less so that he failed to discover the river—of which his own journal furnishes the most conclusive evidence, as well as the strong conviction that no such river existed. So strong was it, indeed, that when he fell in with Capt. Gray, shortly afterwards, and was informed by him that he had been off the mouth of a river, in lat. 46 degrees 10 minutes, whose outlet was so strong as to prevent his entering, he remained incredulous, and strongly expressed himself to that effect in his journal. It was shortly after this interview that Captain Gray again visited its mouth, crossed its bar, and sailed up the river, as has been stated. After he left it, he visited Nootka Sound, where he communicated his discoveries to Quadra, the Spanish commandant at that place, and gave him a chart and description of the mouth of the river. After his departure, Vancouver arrived there, in September; when he was informed of the discoveries of Captain Gray, and obtained from Quadra copies of the chart he had left with him. In consequence of the information thus obtained, he was induced to visit again that part of the coast. It was during this visit that he entered the river, on the 20th October, and made his survey.

From these facts, it is manifest that the alleged discoveries of Meares and Vancouver cannot, in the slightest degree, shake the claims of Captain Gray to priority of discovery. Indeed, so conclusive is the evidence in his favor, that it has been attempted to evade our claim on the novel and wholly untenable ground that his discovery was made, not in a national, but private vessel. Such, and so incontestable, is the evidence of our claim, as against Great Britain—from priority of discovery, as to the mouth of the river, crossing its bar, entering it, and sailing up its stream, on the voyage of Captain Gray alone; without taking into consideration the prior discovery of the Spanish navigator, Heceta—which will be more particularly referred to hereafter.

Nor is the evidence of the priority of our discovery of the head-branches of the river and its exploration less conclusive. Before the treaty was ratified by which we acquired Louisiana, in 1803, an expedition was planned—at the head of which were placed Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke—to explore the river Missouri and its principal branches to their sources, and then to seek and trace to its termination in the Pacific some stream, "whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other which might offer the most direct or practicable water communication across the continent, for the purpose of commerce." The party began to ascend the Missouri in May, 1804, and in the summer of 1805, reached the head-waters of the Columbia river. After crossing many of the streams falling into it, they reached the Kootenokee, in latitude 43 deg. 31' min—descended that to the principal southern branch, which they called Lewis's—followed that to its junction with the great northern branch, which they called Clarke—and thence descended to the mouth of the river, where they landed, and encamped on the north side, on Cape Disappointment, and wintered. The next spring, they commenced their return, and continued their exploration up the river, noting its various branches, and tracing

some of the principal; and finally arrived at St. Louis in September, 1803, after an absence of two years and four months.

It was this important expedition which brought to the knowledge of the world this great river—the greatest by far on the western side of this continent—with its numerous branches, and the vast regions through which it flows, above the points to which Gray and Vancouver had ascended. It took place many years before it was visited and explored by any subject of Great Britain or of any other civilized nation, so far as we are informed. It as clearly entitles us to the claim of priority of discovery, as to its head branches, and the exploration of the river and region through which it passes, as the voyages of Captain Gray and the Spanish navigator, Heceta, entitled us to priority in reference to its mouth, and the entrance into its channel.

Nor is our priority of settlement less certain. Establishments were formed by American citizens on the Columbia as early as 1809 and 1810. In the latter year, a company was formed in New York at the head of which was John Jacob Astor, a wealthy merchant of that city, the object of which was to form a regular chain of establishments on the Columbia river and the contiguous coast of the Pacific, for commercial purposes. Early in the spring of 1811, they made their first establishment on the south side of the river a few miles above Point George; where they were visited in July following by Mr. Thompson, a surveyor and astronomer of the Northwest Company and his party. They had been sent out by that company to forestall the American company in occupying the mouth of the river, but found themselves defeated in their object. The American company formed two other connected establishments higher up the river: one at the confluence of the Okanogan with the north branch of the Columbia, about six hundred miles above its mouth; and the other on the Spokane, a stream falling into the north branch, some fifty miles above.

These posts passed into the possession of Great Britain during the war which was declared the next year; but it was provided by the first article of the treaty of Ghent, which terminated it, that "all territories, places, and possession whatever taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of the treaty, excepting the islands hereafter mentioned (in the Bay of Fundy) shall be restored without delay." Under this provision, which embraces all the establishments of the American company on the Columbia, Astoria was formally restored, on the 6th October, 1818, by agents duly authorized on the part of the British government to restore the possession, and to an agent duly authorized on the part of the government of the United States to receive it—which placed our possession where it was before it passed into the hands of British subjects.

Such are the facts on which we rest our claims to priority of discovery and priority of exploration and settlement, as against Great Britain, to the region drained by the Columbia river. So much for the claims we have, in our own proper right, to that region.

To these we have added the claims of France and Spain. The former we obtained by the treaty of Louisiana ratified in 1803; and the latter by the treaty of Florida, ratified in 1819. By the former, we acquired all the rights which France had to Louisiana "to the extent it now has (1803) in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into by Spain and other States." By the latter, his Catholic Majesty "ceded to the United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions" to the country lying west of the Rocky mountains, and north of a line drawn on the 42d parallel of latitude, from a point on the south bank of the Arkansas, in that parallel, to the South Sea; that is, to the whole region claimed by Spain west of those mountains, and north of that line.

The cession of Louisiana gave us undisputed title west of the Mississippi, extending to the summit of the Rocky mountains, and stretching south between that river and those mountains to the possessions of Spain, the line between which and ours was afterwards determined by the treaty of Florida. It also added much to the strength of our title to the region beyond the Rocky mountains, by restoring to us the important link of continuity westward to the Pacific, which had been surrendered by the treaty of 1763—as will be hereafter shown.

That continuity furnishes a just foundation for a claim of territory, in connection with those of discovery and occupation, would seem unquestionable. It is admitted by all that neither of them is limited by the precise spot discovered or occupied. It is evident that, in order to make either available, it must extend at least some distance beyond that actually discovered or occupied; but how far, as an abstract question, is a matter of uncertainty. It is subject in each case to be influenced by a variety of considerations. In the case of an island it has been usually maintained in practice to extend the claim of discovery or occupancy to the whole. So likewise, in the case of a river, it has been usual to extend them to the entire region drained by it—more especially in case of a discovery and settlement at the mouth; and emphatically so when accompanied by exploration of the river and region through which it flows. Such, it is believed, may be affirmed to be the opinion and practice in such cases since the discovery of this continent. How far the claim of continuity may extend in other cases, is less perfectly defined, and can be settled only by reference to the circumstances attending each. When this continent was first discovered, Spain claimed the whole, in virtue of the grant of the Pope; but a claim so extravagant and unreasonable was not acquiesced in by other countries, and could not be long maintained. Other nations, especially England and France, at an early period, contested her claim.—They fitted out voyages of discovery, and made settlements on the eastern coasts of North America. They claimed for their settlements, usually, specific limits along the coasts or bays on which they were formed, and, generally, a region of corresponding width, extending across the entire continent to the Pacific Ocean. Such was the character of the limits assigned by England in the charters which she granted to her former colonies, now the United States, when there was no special reason for varying from it.

How strong she regarded her claim to the region conveyed by these charters, and extending westward of her settlements, the war between her and France, which was terminated by the treaty of Paris, 1763, furnishes a striking illustration. That great contest, which ended so gloriously for England, and effected so great and durable a change on this continent, commenced in a conflict between her claims and those of France, resting on her side on this very right of continuity, extending westward from her settlements to the Pacific Ocean, and on the part of France on the same right, but extending to the region drained by the Mississippi and its waters, on the ground of settlement and exploration. Their respective claims, which led to the war, first clashed on the Ohio river, the waters of which the colonial charters, in their western extension, covered, but which France had been unquestionably the first to settle and explore. If the relative strength of these different claims may be tested by the result of that remarkable contest, that of continuity westward must be

the stronger of the two. England has had at least the advantage of the result, and would seem to be foreclosed against contesting the principle—particularly as against us, who contributed so much to that result, and on whom that contest, and her examples and pretensions, from the first settlement of our country, have contributed to impress it so deeply and indelibly.

But the treaty of 1763, which terminated that memorable and eventful struggle, yielded, as has been stated, the claims and all the chartered rights of the colonies beyond the Mississippi. The seventh article establishes that river as the permanent boundary between the possessions of Great Britain and France on this continent. So much as relates to the subject is in the following words: "The confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty in that part of the world (the continent of America) shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river berville; and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river and the lakes Maupas and Pontchartrain, to the sea," &c.

This important stipulation, which thus establishes the Mississippi as the line "fixed irrevocably" between the dominions of the two countries on this continent, in effect extinguishes in favour of France whatever claim Great Britain may have had to the region lying west of the Mississippi. It of course could not affect the rights of Spain—the only other nation which had any pretence of claim west of that river; but it prevented the right of continuity previously claimed by Great Britain from extending beyond it, and transferred it to France. The treaty of Louisiana restored and vested in the United States all the claims acquired by France and surrendered by Great Britain, under the provisions of that treaty, to the country west of the Mississippi, and, among others, the one in question. Certain it is that France had the same right of continuity, in virtue of her possession of Louisiana, and the extinguishment of the right of England, by the treaty of 1763, to the whole country west of the Rocky mountains, and lying west of Louisiana, as against Spain, which England had to the country westward of the Alleghany mountains, as against France—with this difference, that Spain had nothing to oppose to the claim of France, at the time, but the right of discovery; and even that, England has since denied: while France had opposed to the right of England, in her case, that of discovery, exploration, and settlement. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that France should claim the country west of the Rocky mountains, (as may be inferred from her maps,) on the same principle that Great Britain had claimed and dispossessed her of the region west of the Alleghany; or that the United States, as soon as they had acquired the rights of France, should assert the same claim, and take measures immediately after to explore it, with a view to occupation and settlement. But since then we have strengthened our title, by adding to our own proper claims and those of France the claims also of Spain, by the treaty of Florida, as has been stated.

The claims which we have acquired from her between the Rocky mountains and the Pacific rest on her priority of discovery. Numerous voyages of discovery, commencing with that of Maldonado in 1528, and ending with that under Galiano and Valdes in 1792, were undertaken by her authority, along the northwestern coast of North America. That they discovered and explored not only the entire coast of what is now called the Oregon Territory, but still further north, is a fact too well established to be controverted at this day. The voyages which they performed will accordingly be passed over at present without being particularly alluded to, with the exception of that of Heceta. His discovery of the mouth of the Columbia river has been already referred to. It was made on the 15th of August, 1775—many years anterior to the voyages of Meares and Vancouver, and was prior to Cook's, who did not reach the northwestern coast until 1778. The claims it gave to Spain of priority of discovery were transferred to us, with all others belonging to her, by the treaty of Florida; which, added to the discoveries of Captain Gray, places our right to the discovery of the mouth and entrance into the inlet and river beyond all controversy.

It has been objected that we claim under various and conflicting titles, which mutually destroy each other. Such might indeed be the fact while they were held by different parties; but since we have rightfully acquired both those of Spain and France and concentrated the whole in our hands, they mutually blend with each other, and form one strong and connected chain of title against the opposing claims of all others, including Great Britain.

In order to present more fully and perfectly the grounds on which our claims to the region in question rest, it will now be necessary to turn back to the time when Astoria was restored to us, under the provisions of the treaty of Ghent, and to trace what has since occurred between the two countries in reference to the territory, and inquire whether their respective claims have been affected by the settlements since made in the territory by Great Britain, or the occurrences which have since taken place.

The restoration of Astoria took place, under the provisions of the treaty of Ghent, on the 6th day of October, 1818—the effect of which was to put Mr. Prevost, the agent authorized by our government to receive it, in possession of the establishment, with the right at all times to be reinstated and considered the party in possession, as was explicitly admitted by Lord Castlereagh in the first negotiation between the two governments in reference to the treaty. The words of Mr. Rush, our plenipotentiary on that occasion, in his letter to Mr. Adams, then Secretary of State, of the 14th of February, 1818, reporting what passed between him and his lordship, are, "that Lord Castlereagh admitted in the most ample extent our right to be reinstated, and to be the party in possession, while treating of the title."

That negotiation terminated in the convention of the 20th of October, 1818—the third article of which is in the following words:

It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open, for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers: it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country: nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences amongst themselves.

The two acts, the restoration of our possession and the signature of the convention, were nearly contemporaneous—the latter taking place but fourteen days subsequently to the former. We were then, as admitted by Lord Castlereagh, entitled to be considered as the party in possession: and the convention which stipulated that the territory should be free and open, for the term of ten years from the date of its signature, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two countries, without prejudice to any claim which either party may have to any part of the same, preserved and perpetuated our claims to the territory,

including the acknowledged right to be considered the party in possession, as perfectly during the period of its continuance as they were the day the convention was signed. Of this there can be no doubt.

After an abortive attempt to adjust the claims of the two parties to the territory, in 1824, another negotiation was commenced, in 1826—which terminated in renewing, on the 6th of August, 1827, the third article of the convention of 1818, prior to its expiration. It provided for the indefinite extension of all the provisions of the third article of that convention; and also that either party might terminate it at any time it might think fit, by giving one year's notice, after the 20th of October, 1828. It took, however, the precaution of providing expressly that "nothing contained in this convention, or in the third article of the convention of the 20th October, 1818, hereby continued in force, shall be construed to impair or in any manner affect the claims which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stony or Rocky mountains." That convention is now in force, and has continued to be so since the expiration of that of 1818. By the joint operation of the two, our right to be considered the party in possession, and all the claims we had to the territory while in possession, are preserved in as full vigor as they were at the date of its restoration in 1818, without being affected or impaired by the settlements since made by the subjects of Great Britain.

Time, indeed, so far from impairing our claims, has greatly strengthened them, since that period; for, since then, the treaty of Florida transferred to us all the rights, claims, and pretensions of Spain to the whole territory, as has been stated. In consequence of this, our claims to the portion drained by the Columbia river—the point now the subject of consideration—have been much strengthened, by giving us the incontestable claim to the discovery of the mouth of the river by Heceta, above stated. But it is not in this particular only that it has operated in our favour. Our well-founded claim, grounded on continuity, has greatly strengthened, during the same period, by the rapid advance of our population towards the territory—its great increase, especially in the valley of the Mississippi—as well as the greatly increased facility of passing to the territory by more accessible routes, and the far stronger and rapidly swelling tide of population that has recently commenced flowing into it.

When the first convention was concluded, in 1818, our whole population did not exceed nine millions of people. The portion of it inhabiting the States in the great valley of the Mississippi was probably under one million seven hundred thousand—of which not more than two hundred thousand were on the west side of the river. Now, our population may be safely estimated at not less than nineteen millions—of which at least eight millions inhabit the States and Territories in the valley of the Mississippi, and of which upwards of one million are in the States and Territories west of that river. This portion of our population is now increasing far more rapidly than ever, and will, in a short time, fill the whole tier of States on its western bank.

To this great increase of population, especially in the valley of the Mississippi, may be added the increased facility of reaching the Oregon territory, in consequence of the discovery of the remarkable pass in the Rocky Mountains at the head of the La Platte. The depression is so great, and the pass so smooth, that loaded waggons now pass with facility from Missouri to the navigable waters of the Columbia river. These joint causes have had the effect of turning the current of our population towards the territory, and an emigration estimated at not less than one thousand during the last and fifteen hundred the present year has flowed into it. The current thus commenced will no doubt continue to flow with increased volume hereafter. There can then be no doubt now that the operation of the same causes which impelled our population westward from the shores of the Atlantic across the Alleghany to the valley of the Mississippi, will impel them onward with accumulating force across the Rocky mountains into the valley of the Columbia, and that the whole region drained by it is destined to be peopled by us.

Such are our claims to that portion of the territory, and the grounds on which they rest. The undersigned believes them to be well founded, and trusts that the British plenipotentiary will see in them sufficient reasons why he should decline his proposal.

The undersigned plenipotentiary abstains, for the present, from presenting the claims which the United States may have to other portions of the territory.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to the British plenipotentiary assurances of his high consideration.

R. PAKENHAM, Esq. &c., &c., &c.

J. C. CALHOUN.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1844.

The undersigned, British plenipotentiary, has studied, with much interest and attention, the statement presented by the American plenipotentiary, setting forth the grounds on which he declines the proposal offered by the British plenipotentiary as a compromise of the difficulties of the Oregon question. The arrangement contemplated by that proposal would, in the estimation of the American plenipotentiary, have the effect of restricting the possessions of the United States to limits far more circumscribed than their claims clearly entitle them to.

The claims of the United States to the portion of territory drained by the Columbia river are divided into those adduced by the United States in their own proper right, and those which they have derived from France and Spain.

The former, as against Great Britain, they ground on priority of discovery and priority of exploration and settlement.

The claim derived from France originates in the treaty of 1803, by which Louisiana was ceded to the United States, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they had been acquired by the French republic; and the claim derived from Spain is founded on the treaty concluded with that power in the year 1819, whereby his Catholic Majesty ceded to the United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions to the territories lying east and north of a certain line terminating on the Pacific, in the 42d degree of north latitude.

Departing from the order in which these three separate claims are presented by the American plenipotentiary, the British plenipotentiary will first beg leave to observe, with regard to the claim derived from France, that he has not been able to discover any evidence tending to establish the belief that Louisiana, as originally possessed by France, afterwards transferred to Spain, then retroceded by Spain to France, and ultimately ceded by the latter power to the United States, extended in a westerly direction beyond the Rocky Mountains. There is, on the other hand, strong reason to suppose that, at the time when Louisiana was ceded to the United States, its acknowledged western boundary was the Rocky mountains. Such appears to have been the opinion of President Jefferson, under whose auspices the acquisition of Louisiana was accomplished.

In a letter written by him in August, 1803, are to be found the following words:

"The boundaries (of Louisiana) which I deem not admitting question are the western side of the Mississippi, inclosing all its waters—the Missouri, of course—and terminating in the line drawn from the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods to the nearest source of the Mississippi, as lately settled between Great Britain and the United States."

In another and more formal document, dated in July, 1807—that is to say, nearly a year after the return of Lewis and Clarke from their expedition to the Pacific, and fifteen years after Gray had entered the Columbia river—is recorded Mr. Jefferson's opinion of the impolicy of giving offence to Spain by any intimation that the claims of the United States extended to the Pacific; and we have the authority of an American historian, distinguished for the attention and research which he has bestowed on the whole subject of the Oregon Territory, for concluding that the western boundaries of Louisiana, as it was ceded by France to the United States, were those indicated by nature—namely, the high lands separating the waters of the Mississippi from those falling into the Pacific.

From the acquisition, then, of Louisiana, as it was received from France, it seems clear that the United States can deduce no claim to territory west of the Rocky mountains. But even if it were otherwise, and if France had even possessed or asserted a claim to territory west of the Rocky mountains, as appertaining to the territory of Louisiana, that claim, whatever it might be, was necessarily transferred to Spain when Louisiana was ceded to that power in 1762, and of course became subject to the provisions of the treaty between Spain and Great Britain of 1790, which effectually abrogated the claim of Spain to exclusive dominion over the unoccupied parts of the American continent.

To the observations of the American plenipotentiary respecting the effect of continuity in furnishing a claim to territory, the undersigned has not failed to pay due attention; but he submits that what is said on this head may more properly be considered as demonstrating the greater degree of interest which the United States possess by reason of contiguity in acquiring territory in that direction, than as affecting, in any way, the question of right.

The undersigned will endeavour to show hereafter that, in the proposal put in on the part of Great Britain, the natural expectations of the United States, on the ground of contiguity, have not been disregarded.

Next comes to be examined the claim derived from Spain.

It must, indeed, be acknowledged that, by the treaty of 1819, Spain did convey to the United States all that she had the power to dispose of on the north west coast of America, north of the 42d parallel of latitude; but she could not, by that transaction, annul or invalidate the rights which she had, by a previous transaction, acknowledged to belong to another power.

By the treaty of 23th October, 1790, Spain acknowledged in Great Britain certain rights with respect to those parts of the western coast of America not already occupied.

This acknowledgment had reference especially to the territory which forms the subject of the present negotiation. If Spain could not make good her own right to exclusive dominion over those regions, still less could she confer such a right on another power; and hence Great Britain argues that from nothing deduced from the treaty of 1819 can the United States assert a valid claim to exclusive dominion over any part of the Oregon territory.

There remains to be considered the claim advanced by the United States on the ground of prior discovery and prior exploration and settlement.

In that part of the memorandum of the American plenipotentiary which speaks of the Spanish title, it is stated that the mouth of the river, afterwards called the Columbia river, was first discovered by the Spanish navigator Heceta.

The admission of this act would appear to be altogether irreconcilable with a claim to priority of discovery from anything accomplished by Captain Gray. To one, and to one only, of those commanders, can be conceded the merit of first discovery. If Heceta's claim is acknowledged, then Captain Gray is no longer the discoverer of the Columbia river. If, on the other hand, preference is given to the achievement of Captain Gray, then Heceta's discovery ceases to be of any value. But it is argued that the United States now represent both titles—the title of Heceta and the title of Gray; and, therefore, that under one or the other, it matters not which, enough can be shown to establish a case of prior discovery, as against Great Britain. This may be true as far as relates to the act of first seeing and first entering the mouth of the Columbia river; but if the Spanish claim of prior discovery is to prevail whatever rights may thereon be founded are necessarily restricted by the stipulations of the treaty of 1890, which forbid a claim to exclusive possession.

If the act of Captain Gray, in passing the bar and actually entering the river, is to supersede the discovery of the entrance—which is all that is attributed to Heceta—then, the principle of progressive or gradual discovery being admitted as conveying, in proportion to the extent of discovery or exploration, superior rights, the operations of Vancouver in entering, surveying, and exploring, to a considerable distance inland, the river Columbia, would, as a necessary consequence, supersede the discovery of Captain Gray, to say nothing of the act of taking possession in the name of his sovereign—which ceremony was duly performed and authentically recorded by Captain Vancouver.

This brings us to an examination of the conflicting claims of Great Britain and the United States on the ground of discovery, which may be said to form the essential point in the discussion; for it has above been shown that the claim derived from France must be considered as of little or no weight, while that derived from Spain, in as far as relates to exclusive dominion, is neutralised by the stipulations of the Nootka convention.

It will be admitted that when the United States became an independent nation, they possessed no claim, direct or indirect, to the Columbia territory. Their western boundary in those days was defined by the treaty of 1783. Great Britain, on the contrary, had at that time already directed her attention to the northwest coast of America—as is sufficiently shown by the voyage and discoveries of Captain Cook, who, in 1778, visited and explored a great portion of it, from latitude 44° northwards.

That Great Britain was the first to acquire what may be called a beneficial interest in those regions, by commercial intercourse, will not, either be denied. In proof of this fact, we have the voyages of several British subjects, who visited the coast and adjacent islands previously to the dispute with Spain; and that her commerce, actual as well as prospective, in that part of the world, was considered a matter of great national importance, is shown by the resolute measures which she took for its protection when Spain manifested a disposition to interfere with it.

The discoveries of Meares, in 1788, and the complete survey of the coast and its adjacent islands, from about latitude 40° northwards, which was effected by Captain Vancouver, in 1792, 1793, and 1794, would appear to give to Great Britain, as against the United States, as strong a claim, on the ground of discovery and exploration coastwise, as can well be imagined, limited only

what was accomplished by Captain Gray at the mouth of the Columbia—which as far as discovery is concerned, forms the strong point on the American side of the question.

In point of accuracy and authenticity, it is believed that the performances of Cook and Vancouver stand pre-eminently superior to those of any other country whose vessels had in those days visited the northwest coast; while in point of value and importance, surely the discovery of a single harbour, although at the mouth of an important river, cannot, as giving a claim to territory, be placed in competition with the vast extent of discovery and survey accomplished by the British navigators.

As regards exploration inland, entire justice must be done to the memorable exploit of M. M. Lewis and Clarke; but those distinguished travellers were not the first who effected a passage across the Oregon Territory from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. As far back as 1793, that feat had been accomplished by Mackenzie, a British subject. In the course of this expedition, Mackenzie explored the upper waters of a river, since called Frazer's river, which, in process of time, was traced to its junction with the sea, near the 49th degree of latitude; thus forming, in point of exploration, a counterpoise to the exploration of that part of the Columbia which was first visited by Lewis and Clarke.

Priority of settlement is the third plea on which the American claim proper is made to rest.

In 1811, an establishment for the purpose of trade was formed at the south side of the Columbia river, near to its mouth, by certain American citizens. This establishment passed during the war into the hands of British subjects; but it was restored to the American government in the year 1818, by an understanding between the two governments. Since then, it has not, however, been in reality occupied by Americans. This is the case of priority of settlement.

The American plenipotentiary lays some stress on the admission attributed to Lord Castlereagh, then principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that "the American government had the most ample right to be reinstated and to be considered the party in possession while treating of the title." The undersigned is not inclined to dispute an assertion resting on such respectable authority. But he must observe, in the first place, that the reservation implied by the words "while treating of the title," exclude any inference which might otherwise be drawn from the preceding words prejudicial to the title of Great Britain; and further, that when the authority of the American minister is thus admitted for an observation which is pleaded against England, it is but fair that, on the part of the United States, credit should be given to England for the authenticity of a despatch from Lord Castlereagh to the British minister at Washington, which was communicated verbally to the government of the United States, when the restoration of the establishment called Astoria, or Fort George, was in contemplation, containing a complete reservation of the right of England to the territory at the mouth of the Columbia—(Statement of the British plenipotentiaries, Dec. 1826.)

In fine, the present state of the question between the two governments appears to be this: Great Britain possesses and exercises in common with the United States a right of joint occupancy in the Oregon Territory, of which right she can be divested, with respect to any part of that territory, only by an equitable partition of the whole between the two powers.

It is, for obvious reasons, desirable that such a partition should take place as soon as possible; and the difficulty appears to be in devising a line of demarcation which shall leave to each party that precise portion of the territory best suited to its interest and convenience.

The British government entertained the hope that by the proposal lately submitted for the consideration of the American government, that object would have been accomplished.

According to the arrangement therein contemplated, the northern boundary of the United States west of the Rocky mountains would for a considerable distance be carried along the same parallel of latitude which forms their northern boundary of the eastern side of those mountains—thus uniting the present eastern boundary of the Oregon Territory with the western boundary of the United States from the 49th parallel downwards.

From the point where the 49th degree of latitude intersects the northeastern branch of the Columbia river, (called, in that part of its course, McGillivray's river,) the proposed line of boundary would be along the middle of that river till it joins the Columbia; then along the middle of the Columbia to the ocean—the navigation of the river remaining perpetually free to both parties.

In addition, Great Britain offers a separate territory on the Pacific, possessing an excellent harbour, with a further understanding that any port or ports, whether on Vancouver's island or on the continent, south of the 49th parallel, to which the United States might desire to have access; shall be made free ports.

It is believed that by this arrangement ample justice would be done to the claims of the United States, on whatever ground advanced, with relation to the Oregon Territory. As regards extent of territory, they would obtain, acre for acre, nearly half of the entire territory to be divided. As relates to the navigation of the principal river, they would enjoy a perfect equality of right with Great Britain, and, with respect to harbors, it will be seen that Great Britain shows every disposition to consult their convenience in that particular. On the other hand, were Great Britain to abandon the line of the Columbia as a frontier, and to surrender her right to the navigation of that river, the prejudice occasioned to her by such an arrangement would, beyond a proportion, exceed the advantage accruing to the United States from the possession of a few more square miles of territory. It must be obvious to every impartial investigator of the subject, that by adhering to the line of the Columbia, Great Britain is not influenced by motives of ambition with reference to extent of territory, but by considerations of utility, not to say necessity, which cannot be lost sight of, and for which allowance ought to be made, in an arrangement professing to be based on considerations of mutual convenience and advantage.

The undersigned believes that he has now noticed all the arguments advanced by the American plenipotentiary in order to show that the United States are fairly entitled to the entire region drained by the Columbia river. He sincerely regrets that their views on this subject should differ in so many essential respects.

It remains for him to request that, as the American plenipotentiary declines the proposal offered on the part of Great Britain he will have the goodness to state what arrangement he is, on the part of the United States, prepared to propose for an equitable adjustment of the question; and more especially that he will have the goodness to define the nature and extent of the claims which the United States may have to portions of the territory, to which allusion is made in the concluding part of his statement; as it is obvious that no arrange-

ment can be made with respect to a portion of the territory in dispute, while a claim is reserved to any portion of the remainder.

The undersigned, British plenipotentiary, has the honour to renew to the American plenipotentiary the assurance of his high consideration.

R. PAKENHAM.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, 20th September, 1844.

The undersigned, American plenipotentiary, has read with attention the counter statement of the British plenipotentiary, but without weakening his confidence in the validity of the title of the United States to the territory, as set forth in his statement, (marked A.) As therein set forth, it rests, in the first place, as priority of discovery, sustained by their own proper claims and those derived from Spain through the treaty of Florida.

The undersigned does not understand the counter statements as denying that the Spanish navigators was the first to discover and explore the entire coasts of the Oregon Territory; nor that Heceta was the first that discovered the mouth of the Columbia river; nor that Captain Gray was the first to pass its bar, enter its mouth, and sail up its stream; nor that these, if jointly held by the United States, would give them the priority of discovery which they claim. On the contrary, it would seem that the counter-statement, from the ground it takes, admits such would be the case on that supposition: for it assumes that Spain, by the Nootka Sound convention in 1790, divested herself of all claims to the territory, founded on the prior discovery and explorations of her navigators; and that she could consequently transfer none to the United States by the treaty of Florida. Having put aside the claims of Spain by this assumption, the counter statement next attempts to oppose the claims of the United States by those founded on the voyages of Captains Gray and Meares, and to supersede the discovery of Captain Gray on the ground that Vancouver sailed farther up the Columbia river than he did, although he effected it by the aid of his discoveries and charts.

It will not be expected of the undersigned that he should seriously undertake to repel what he is constrained to regard as a mere assumption, unsupported by any reason. It is sufficient, on his part, to say that, in his opinion, there is nothing in the Nootka Sound convention, or in the transactions which led to it, or in the circumstances attending it, to warrant the assumption. The convention relates wholly to other subjects, and contains not a word in reference to the claims of Spain. It is on this assumption the counter-statement rests its objection to the well-founded American claims to priority of discovery. Without it, there would not be a plausible objection left to them.

The two next claims on which the United States rest their title to the territory, as set forth in statement A, are founded on their own proper right; and cannot possibly be effected by the assumed claims of Great Britain, derived from the Nootka convention. The first of these is priority of discovery and exploration of the head waters, and upper portions of the Columbia river, by Lewis & Clarke; by which that great stream was first brought to the knowledge of the world, with the exception of a small portion near the ocean, including its mouth. This the counter statement admits; but attempts to set off against it the prior discovery of Mackenzie of the head waters of Frazer's river—quite an inferior stream, which drains the northern portion of the territory. It is clear, that whatever right Great Britain may derive from this discovery, it can, in no degree, affect the right of the United States to the region drained by the Columbia, which may be emphatically called the river of the territory.

The next of these, founded on their own proper right, is priority of settlement. It is not denied by the counter statement, that we formed the first settlements in the portion of the territory drained by the Columbia river; nor does it deny that Astoria, the most considerable of them, was restored, under the third article of the treaty of Ghent, by agents on the part of Great Britain duly authorized to make the restoration, to an agent on the part of the United States duly authorized to receive it. Nor does it deny that in virtue thereof, they have the right to be reinstated, and considered the party in possession while treating of the title, as was admitted by Lord Castlereagh in the negotiation of 1818, nor that the convention of 1818, signed a few days after the restoration, and that of 1827, which is still in force, have preserved and perpetuated until now all the rights they possessed to the territory at the time, including that of being reinstated and considered the party in possession while the question of title is depending, as is now the case. It is true, it attempts to weaken the effect of these implied admissions—in the first place, by designating positive treaty stipulations as an "understanding between the two governments;" but a change of phraseology cannot possibly transform treaty obligations into a mere understanding; and, in the next place, by stating that we have not, since the restoration of Astoria, actually occupied it; but that cannot possibly affect our right to be reinstated, and to be considered in possession, secured to us by the treaty of Ghent, implied in the act of restoration, and since preserved by positive treaty stipulations. Nor can all the remarks of the counter statement in reference to Lord Castlereagh's admission weaken our right of possession, secured by the treaty, and its formal and unconditional restoration by duly authorized agents. It is on these, and not on the denial of the authenticity of Lord Castlereagh's despatch, that the United States rest their right of possession, whatever verbal communication the British minister may have made at the time to our Secretary of State; and it is on these that they may safely rest it, setting aside altogether the admission of Lord Castlereagh.

The next claims on which our title to the territory rest are those derived from Spain by the treaty ceding Louisiana to the United States, including those she derived from Great Britain by the treaty of 1763. It established the Mississippi as "the irrevocable boundary between the territories of France and Great Britain; and thereby the latter surrendered to France all her claims on this continent west of that river, including, of course, all within the chartered limits of her then colonies, which extended to the Pacific ocean. On these, united with those of France as the possessor of Louisiana, we rest our claim of continuity, as extending to that ocean, without an opposing claim, except that of Spain, which we have since acquired, and consequently removed, by the treaty of Florida.

The existence of these claims the counter statement denies on the authority of Mr. Jefferson; but, as it appears to the undersigned, without adequate reasons. He does not understand Mr. Jefferson as denying that the United States acquired any claims to the Oregon territory by the acquisition of Louisiana, either in his letter of 1803, referred to by the counter statement, and from which it gives an extract, or in the document of 1807, to which it also refers. It is manifest, from the extract itself, that the object of Mr. Jefferson was not to state the extent of the claims acquired with Louisiana, but simply to state how far its unquestioned boundaries extended; and these he limits westwardly by the Rocky mountains. It is, in like manner, manifested from the document, as cited by the counter-statement, that his object was not to deny that

our claims extended to the territory, but simply to express his opinion of the impolicy, in the then state of our relations with Spain, of bringing them forward. This, so far from denying that we had claims, admits them by the clearest implication. If, indeed, in either case, his opinion had been equivocally expressed, the prompt measures adopted by him to explore the territory, after the treaty was negotiated, but before it was ratified, clearly show that it was his opinion not only that we had acquired claims to it, but highly important claims, which deserved prompt attention.

In addition to this denial of our claims to the territory on the authority of Mr. Jefferson, which the evidence relied on does not seem to sustain, the counter-statement intimates an objection to continuity as the foundation of a right, on the ground that it may more properly be considered (to use his own words) as demonstrating the greater degree of interest which the United States possessed by reason of contiguity in acquiring territory in a westward direction. Contiguity may, indeed, be regarded as one of the elements constituting the right of continuity—which is more comprehensive—and is necessarily associated with the right of occupancy, as has been shown in statement A. It also shows that the laws which usages have established in the application of the right to this continent, give to the European settlements on its eastern coasts an indefinite extension westward. It is now too late for Great Britain to deny a right on which she has acted so long, and by which she has profited so much; or to regard it as mere facility, not affecting in any way the question of right. On what other right has she extended her claims westwardly to the Pacific ocean from her settlements around Hudson's bay? or expelled France from the east side of the Mississippi, in the war which terminated in 1763?

As the assumption of the counter-statement, that Louisiana, while in the possession of Spain, became subject to the Nootka Sound convention—which, it is alleged, abrogated all the claims of Spain to the territory, including those acquired with Louisiana—it will be time enough to consider it, after it shall be attempted to be shown that such, in reality, was the effect. In the mean time, the United States must continue to believe that they acquired from France, by the treaty of Louisiana, important and substantial claims to the territory.

The undersigned cannot assent to the conclusion to which, on a review of the whole ground, the counter-statement arrives, that the present state of the question is, that Great Britain possesses and exercises, in common with the United States, right of joint occupancy in the Oregon territory, of which she can be divested only by an equitable partition of the whole between the two powers. He claims, and he thinks he has shown, a clear title on the part of the United States to the whole region drained by the Columbia, with the right of being reinstated, and considered the party in possession while treating of the title—in which character he must insist on their being considered, in conformity with positive treaty stipulations. He cannot therefore, consent that they should be regarded, during the negotiation, merely as occupants in common with Great Britain. Nor can he, while thus regarding their rights, present a counter-proposal, based on the supposition of a joint occupancy merely, until the question of title to the territory is fully discussed. It is, in his opinion, only after such a discussion which shall fully present the titles of the parties respectively to the territory, that their claims to it can be fairly and satisfactorily adjusted. The United States desire only what they deem themselves justly entitled to, and are unwilling to take less. With their present opinion of their title, the British plenipotentiary must see that the proposal which he made at the second conference, and which he more fully sets forth in his counter-statement, falls far short of what they believe themselves justly entitled to.

In reply to the request of the British plenipotentiary, that the undersigned should define the nature and extent of the claims which the United States have to other portions of the territory, and to which allusion is made in the concluding part of statement A, he has the honor to inform him, in general terms that they are derived from Spain by the Florida treaty, and are founded on the discoveries and explorations of her navigators; and which they must regard as giving them a right to the extent to which they can be established, unless a better can be opposed.

J. C. CALHOUN.

The Right Hon. R. PAKENHAM, &c.

Mr. Pakenham to Mr. Calhoun.

WASHINGTON, January 15, 1845.

Sir: I did not fail to communicate to her Majesty's government all that had passed between us, with reference to the question of the Oregon boundary, up to the end of last September, as detailed in the written statements interchanged by us, and in the protocols of our conferences.

Those papers remain under the consideration of her Majesty's government; and I have reason to believe that, at no distant period, I shall be put in possession of the views of her Majesty's government on the several points which became most prominent in the course of the discussion.

But considering, on the one hand, the impatience which is manifested in the United States for a settlement of this question, and on the other, the length of time which would probably be still required to effect a satisfactory adjustment of it between the two governments, it has occurred to her Majesty's government that, under such circumstances, no more fair or honorable mode of settling the question could be adopted than that of arbitration.

This proposition I am accordingly authorized to offer for the consideration of the government of the United States; and, under the supposition that it may be found acceptable, further to suggest that the consent of both parties to such a course of proceeding being recorded by an interchange of notes, the choice of an arbiter, and the mode in which their respective cases shall be laid before him, may hereafter be made the subject of a more formal agreement between the two governments.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration, sir, your obedient servant.

R. PAKENHAM.

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Mr. Calhoun to Mr. Pakenham

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, Jan 21, 1845.

Sir: I have laid before the President your communication of the 15th instant, offering, on the part of her Majesty's government, to submit the settlement of the question between the two countries in reference to the Oregon territory to arbitration.

The President instructs me to inform you, that, while he unites with her Majesty's government in the desire to see the question settled as early as may be practicable, he cannot accede to the offer.

Having all other reasons for declining it, it is sufficient to state, that he continues to entertain the hope that the question may be settled by the negotiation now pending between the two countries; and that he is of the opinion it would be unadvisable to entertain a proposal to resort to any other mode so long as there is hope of arriving at a satisfactory settlement by negotiation; and especially to one which might rather retard than expediate its final adjustment.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

J. C. CALHOUN.

The Right Hon. R. PAKENHAM, &c.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, 12th July, 1845.

The undersigned, Secretary of the United States, now proceeds to resume the negotiation on the Oregon question, at the point where it was left by his predecessor.

The British plenipotentiary, in his note to Mr. Calhoun of the 12th September last, requests "that, as the American plenipotentiary declines the proposal offered on the part of Great Britain, he will have the goodness to state what arrangement he is, on the part of the United States, prepared to propose for an equitable adjustment of the question; and more especially that he will have the goodness to define the nature and extent of the claims which the United States may have to other portions of the territory to which allusion is made in the concluding part of his statement, as it is obvious that no arrangement can be made with respect to a part of the territory in dispute, while a claim is reserved to any portion of the remainder."

The Secretary of State will now proceed, (reversing the order in which these requests have been made,) in the first place, to present the title of the United States to the territory north of the valley of the Columbia; and will then propose, on the part of the President, the terms upon which, in his opinion, this long pending controversy may be justly and equitably terminated between the parties.

The title of the United States to that portion of the Oregon territory between the valley of the Columbia and the Russian line, in 54deg. 40min. north latitude, is recorded in the Florida treaty. Under this treaty, dated on the 22d February, 1819, Spain ceded to the United States all her "rights, claims, and pretensions" to any territories west of the Rocky Mountains and north of 42d parallel of latitude. We contend that, at the date of this cession, Spain had a good title, as against Great Britain, to the whole Oregon territory; and, if this be established, the question is then decided in favour of the United States.

But the American title is now encountered at every step by declaration that we hold it subject to all the conditions of the Nootka Sound convention between Great Britain and Spain, signed at the Escurial on the 28th of October, 1790. Great Britain contends that, under this convention, the title of Spain was limited to a mere common right of joint occupancy with herself, over the whole territory. To employ the language of the British plenipotentiary: "If Spain could not make good her own right of exclusive dominion over those regions, still less could she confer such a right on another power; and hence Great Britain argues that from nothing deduced from the treaty of 1819 can the United States assert a valid claim to executive dominion over any part of the Oregon territory. Hence it is that Great Britain, resting her pretensions on the Nootka Sound convention, has necessarily limited her claim to a mere right of joint occupancy over the whole territory, in common with the United States, as the successor of Spain, leaving the right of exclusive dominion in abeyance."

It is, then, of the first importance that we should ascertain the true construction and meaning of the Nootka Sound convention.

If it should appear that this treaty was transient in its very nature—that it conferred upon Great Britain no right but that of merely trading with the Indians whilst the country should remain unsettled, and making the necessary establishments for this purpose—that it did not interfere with the ultimate sovereignty of Spain over the territory—and above all, that it was annulled by the war between Spain and Great Britain in 1796, and has never since been renewed by the parties—then the British claim to any portion of this territory will prove to be destitute of foundation.

It is unnecessary to detail the circumstances out of which this convention arose. It is sufficient to say that John Meares, a British subject, sailing under the Portuguese flag, landed at Nootka Sound, in 1788, and made a temporary establishment there for the purpose of building a vessel; and that the Spaniards, in 1789, took possession of this establishment under the orders of the Viceroy of Mexico, who claimed for Spain the exclusive sovereignty of the whole territory on the northwest coast of America up to the Russian line. Meares appealed to the British government for redress against Spain and the danger of war between the two parties became imminent. This was prevented by the conclusion of the Nootka Sound convention. That convention provides, by its first and second articles, for the restoration of the lands and buildings, of which the subjects of Great Britain had been dispossessed by the Spaniards, and the payment of an indemnity for the injuries sustained. This indemnity was paid by Spain: but no sufficient evidence has been adduced, that either Nootka Sound, or any other spot upon the coast, was ever actually surrendered by that power to Great Britain. All we know with certainty, is, that Spain continued in possession of Nootka Sound until 1795, when she voluntarily abandoned the place. Since that period, no attempt has been made (unless very recently) by Great Britain, or her subjects, to occupy either this, or any other part of Vancouver's Island. It is thus manifest, that she did not formerly attach much importance to the exercise of the rights, whatever they may have been, which she had acquired under the Nootka Sound convention.

The only other portion of this convention important for the present discussion, will be found in the third and fifth articles. They are as follows:—

"Art. 3. In order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to preserve in future a perfect harmony and good understanding between the two contracting parties, it is agreed that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific ocean, or in the South seas, or in landing on the coasts of those seas in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions specified in three following articles." The material one of which is: "Art. 5. As well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects, by virtue of the first article, as in all other parts of the northwestern coasts of North America, or of the islands adjacent, situated to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers shall have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation."

It may be observed as a striking fact which must have an important bearing against the claim of Great Britain, that this convention, which was dictated by her to Spain, contains no provision impairing the ultimate sovereignty which that power had asserted for nearly three centuries over the whole western side of North America as far north as the 61st degree of latitude, and which had never been seriously questioned by any European nation. This right had been

maintained by Spain with the most vigilant jealousy, ever since the discovery of the American continent, and had been acquiesced in by all European governments. It had been admitted even beyond the latitude of 54deg. 40' north, by Russia, then the only power having claims which could come in collision with Spain; and that, too, under a sovereign peculiarly tenacious of the territorial rights of her empire. This will appear from the letter of the Count de Fernan Nunez, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, to M. de Montmorin, the Secretary of the Foreign Department of France, dated Paris, June 16th, 1790. From this letter, it seems that complaints had been made by Spain to the court of Russia against Russian subjects for violating the Spanish territory on the northwest coast of America, south of the 61st degree of north latitude; in consequence of which, that court, without delay, assured the King of Spain "that it was extremely sorry that the repeated orders issued to prevent the subjects of Russia from violating, in the smallest degree, the territory belonging to another power, should have been disobeyed."

This convention of 1790 recognizes no right in Great Britain, either present or prospective, to plant permanent colonies on the northwest coast of America, or to exercise such exclusive jurisdiction over any portion of it as is essential to sovereignty.—Great Britain obtained from Spain all she then desired—a mere engagement that her subjects should "not be disturbed or molested" "in landing on the coasts of those seas in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there." What kind of "settlements?" This is not specified; but surely their character and duration are limited by the object which the contracting parties had in view. They must have been such only as were necessary and proper "for the purpose of carrying on commerce with the natives of the country."—Were these settlements intended to expand into colonies, to expel the natives, to deprive Spain of her sovereign rights, and to confer the exclusive jurisdiction over the whole territory on Great Britain?—Surely, Spain never designed any such results; and if Great Britain has obtained these concessions by the Nootka Sound convention, it has been by the most extraordinary construction ever imposed upon human language. But this convention also stipulates that to these settlements which might be made by the one party, "the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation." What trade? Certainly that "with the natives of the country," as prescribed in the third article; and this, from the very nature of things, could continue only whilst the country should remain in the possession of the Indians. On no other construction can this convention escape from the absurdities attributed to it by British statesmen, when under discussion before the House of Commons "in every place in which we might settle," (said Mr.—afterwards Earl—Grey,) access was left for the Spaniards. When we might form a settlement on one hill, they might erect a fort on another; and a merchant must run all the risks of a discovery, and all the expenses of an establishment, for a property which was liable to be the subject of continual dispute, and could never be placed upon a permanent footing."

Most certainly this treaty was, in its very nature, temporary; and the rights of Great Britain under it were never intended to "be placed upon a permanent footing." It was to endure no longer than the existence of those peculiar causes which called it into being. Such a treaty, creating British and Spanish settlements intermingled with each other and dotted over the whole surface of the territory, wherever a British or Spanish merchant could find a spot favorable for trade with the Indians, never could have been intended for a permanent arrangement between civilized nations.

But whatever may be the true construction of the Nootka Sound convention, it has, in the opinion of the undersigned, long since ceased to exist.

The general rule of national law is, that war terminates all subsisting treaties between the belligerent powers. Great Britain has maintained this rule to its utmost extent. Lord Bathurst, in negotiating with Mr. Adams in 1815 says, "that Great Britain knows no exception to the rule that all treaties are put an end to by a subsequent war between the same parties." Perhaps the only exception to this rule—if such it may be styled—is that of treaty recognizing certain sovereign rights as belonging to a nation, which had previously existed independently of any treaty engagement. These rights, which the treaty did not create but merely acknowledged, cannot be destroyed by war between the parties. Such was the acknowledgment of the fact by Great Britain, under the definitive treaty of 1783, that the United States were "free, sovereign, and independent." It will scarcely be contended that the Nootka Sound convention belongs to this class of treaties. It is difficult to imagine any case in which a treaty containing mutual engagements, still remaining unexecuted, would not be abrogated by war. The Nootka Sound convention is strictly of this character. The declaration of war, therefore, by Spain against Great Britain, in October, 1796, annulled its provisions, and freed the parties from its obligations. This whole treaty consisted of mutual express engagements to be performed by the contracting parties. Its most important article (the third in reference to the present discussion,) does not even grant, in affirmative terms, the right to the contracting parties to trade with the Indians, and to make settlements.

It merely engages, in negative terms that the subjects of the contracting parties "shall not be disturbed or molested" in the exercise of these treaty privileges. Surely this is not such an engagement as will continue to exist in despite of war between the parties. It is gone forever unless it has been revived in express terms by the treaty of peace, or some other treaty between the parties. Such is the principle of public law, and the practice of civilized nations.

Has the Nootka Sound convention been thus revived? This depends entirely upon the true construction of the additional articles to the treaty of Madrid which were signed on the 20th of August 1814, and contained the only agreement between the parties since the war of 1796, for the renewal of engagements existing previously to the latter date. The first of the additional articles to this treaty provides as follows, "It is agreed that, pending the negotiation of a new treaty of commerce, Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with Spain upon the same conditions as those which existed previously to 1796; all the treaties of commerce which at that period subsisted between the two nations being hereby ratified and confirmed."

The first observation to be made upon this article is, that it is confined in terms to the trade with Spain, and does not embrace her colonies or remote territories. These had always been closed against foreign powers. Spain had never conceded the privilege of trading with her colonies to any nation, except in the single instance of the Asiento, which was abrogated in 1740; nor did any of the treaties of commerce which were in force between the two nations previously to 1795, make such a concession to Great Britain. That this is the true construction of the first additional article of the treaty of Madrid, appears conclusively from another part of the instrument. Great Britain, by

an irresistible inference, admitted that she had acquired no right under it to trade with the colonies or remote territories of Spain when she obtained a stipulation in the same treaty, that, "in events of the commerce of Spanish American possessions being opened to foreign nations, his Catholic Majesty promises that Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with those possessions as the most favoured nation."

But even if the first additional article of the treaty of 1814 were not thus expressly limited to the revival of the trade of Great Britain with the kingdom of Spain in Europe, without reference to any other portion of her dominions, the Nootka Sound convention can never be embraced under the denomination of a treaty of commerce between the two powers. It contains no provisions whatever to grant or to regulate the trade between British and Spanish subjects. Its essential part, so far as concerns the present question, relates not to any trade or commerce between the subjects of the respective powers. It merely prohibits the subjects of either from disturbing or molesting those of the other in trading with third parties—the natives of the country. The "grant of making settlements," whether understood in its broadest or most restricted sense, relates to territorial acquisition, and not to trade or commerce in any imaginable form. The Nootka Sound convention, then, cannot, in any sense, be considered a treaty of commerce; and was not therefore revived by the treaty of Madrid of 1814. When the war commenced between Great Britain and Spain in 1796, several treaties subsisted between them, which were, both in title and substance, treaties of commerce. These, and these alone, were revived by the treaty of 1814.

That the British government itself had no idea in 1818, that the Nootka Sound convention was then in force may be fairly inferred from their silence upon the subject during the whole negotiation of that year on the Oregon question. This convention was not once referred to by the British plenipotentiaries. They then rested their claims upon other foundations. Surely that which is now their main reliance would not have escaped the observation of such statesmen, had they then supposed it was in existence.

In view of all these considerations the undersigned respectfully submits that if Great Britain has valid claims to any portion of the Oregon territory, they must rest upon a better foundation than that of the Nootka Sound convention.

It is far from the intention of the undersigned to repeat the arguments by which his predecessor (Mr. Calhoun) has demonstrated the American title "to the entire region drained by the Columbia river and its branches." He has shown that to the United States belongs the discovery of the Columbia river, and that Captain Gray was the first civilized man who ever entered its mouth, and sailed up its channel, baptizing the river itself with the name of his vessel; that Messrs Lewis & Clarke, under a commission from their government, first explored the waters of this river almost from its head springs to the Pacific, passing the winter of 1805 and 1806 on its northern shore, near the ocean; that the first settlement upon this river was made by a citizen of the United States, at Astoria; and that the British government solemnly recognised our right to the possession of this settlement, which had been captured during the war, by surrendering it up to the U. S. on the 6th day of October, 1818, in obedience to the treaty of Ghent. If the discovery of the mouth of a river, followed up within a reasonable time by the first exploration, both of its main channel and its branches, and appropriated by the first settlements on its banks, do not constitute a title to the territory drained by its waters in the nation performing these acts, then the principles consecrated by the practice of civilized nations ever since the discovery of the New World must have lost their force. These principles were necessary to preserve the peace of the world. Had they not been enforced in practice, clashing claims to newly-discovered territory, and perpetual strife among the nations, would have been the inevitable result.

The title of the United States to the entire region drained by the Columbia river and its branches, was perfect and complete before the date of the treaties of joint occupation of October, 1818, and August, 1827; and under the express provisions of these treaties, this title, whilst they endure, can never be impaired by any act of the British government. In the strong language of the treaty of 1827, "nothing contained in this convention, or in the third article of the convention of 1818, hereby continued in force shall be construed to impair, or in any manner affect, the claims which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stony or Rocky mountains." Had not the convention contained this plain provision, which has prevented the respective parties from looking with jealousy on the occupation of portions of the territory by the citizens and subjects of each other, its chief object—which was to preserve peace and prevent collisions in those distant regions—would have been entirely defeated. It is then manifest, that neither the grant of this territory for a term of years, made by Great Britain to the Hudson Bay Company in December, 1821, nor the extension of this grant in 1838, nor the settlements, trading posts, and forts, which have been established by that company under it, can, in the slightest degree, strengthen the British, or impair the American title to any portion of the Oregon territory. The British claim is neither better nor worse than it was on the 20th October, 1819, the date of the first convention.

The title of the United States to the valley of the Columbia is older than the Florida treaty of February, 1819, under which the United States acquired all the rights of Spain to the northwest coast of America, and exists independently of its provisions. Even supposing, then, that the British construction of the Nootka Sound convention were correct, it could not apply to this portion of the territory in dispute. A convention between Great Britain and Spain, originating from a dispute concerning a petty trading establishment at Nootka Sound, could not abridge the rights of other nations. Both in public and private law, an agreement between two parties can never bind a third, without his consent, express or implied.

The extraordinary proposition will scarcely be again urged, that our acquisition of the rights of Spain under the Florida treaty can in any manner weaken or impair our pre-existing title. It may often become expedient for nations, as it is for individuals, to purchase an outstanding title merely for the sake of peace; and it has never heretofore been imagined that the acquisition of such a new title rendered the old one less valid. Under this principle, a party having two titles would be confined to his worst; and forfeit his best. Our acquisition of the rights of Spain, then, under the Florida treaty, whilst it cannot affect the prior title of the United States to the valley of the Columbia, has rendered it more clear and unquestionable before the world. We have a perfect right to claim under both these titles; and the Spanish title alone, even if it were necessary to confine ourselves to it, would, in the opinion of the President, be good as against Great Britain, not merely to the valley of the Columbia, but the whole territory of Oregon.

Our own American title, to the extent of the valley of the Columbia, resting as it does on discovery, exploration, and possession—a possession acknowledged by a most solemn act of the British government itself—is sufficient assurance against all mankind; whilst our superadded title derived from Spain extends our exclusive rights over the whole territory in dispute as against Great Britain.

Such being the opinion of the President in regard to the title of the United States, he would not have consented to yield any portion of the Oregon territory, had he not found himself embarrassed, if not committed, by the acts of his predecessors. They had uniformly proceeded on the principle of compromise in all their negotiations. Indeed, the first question presented to him after entering upon the duties of his office, was, whether he should abruptly terminate the negotiation which had been commenced and conducted between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Pakenham on the principle avowed in the first protocol, not of contending for the whole territory in dispute, but of treating of the respective claims of the parties, "with the view to establish a permanent boundary between the two countries westward of the Rocky mountains."

In view of these facts, the President has determined to pursue the present negotiation to its conclusion upon the principle of compromise in which it commenced, and to make one more effort to adjust this long pending controversy. In this determination he trusts that the British government will recognize his sincere and anxious desire to cultivate the most friendly relations between the two countries, and to manifest to the world that he is actuated by a spirit of moderation. He has, therefore, instructed the undersigned again to propose to the government of Great Britain that the Oregon Territory shall be divided between the two countries by the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean; offering, at the same time, to make free to Great Britain any port or ports on Vancouver's island, south of this parallel, which the British government may desire. He trusts that Great Britain may receive this proposition in the friendly spirit by which it was dictated, and that it may prove the stable foundation of lasting peace and harmony between the two countries. The line proposed will carry out the principles of continuity equally to both parties, by extending the limits both of ancient Louisiana and Canada to the Pacific along the same parallel of latitude which divides them east of the Rocky mountains; and it will secure to each a sufficient number of commodious harbors on the northwest coast of America.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to renew to Mr. Pakenham the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

The Right Hon. R. PAKENHAM, &c.
[To be Continued.]

THE GREAT QUESTION.

From the Journal of Commerce.

The quiescent policy recommended a year or two ago by Mr. Calhoun in regard to Oregon, was at the time a sagacious policy, and would have secured to us eventually a larger share of Oregon than we shall be able to obtain at present, either by negotiation or otherwise. But that policy, we conceive, is no longer applicable. The political waters are too much disturbed to admit of repose, without the removal of the exciting cause. The question must now be settled;—but *how*, is the great problem offered for solution to the statesmen and philanthropists of the two countries. It is not to be denied that the failure of the recent negotiation, and the circumstances attending it, have added to the complication of the affair, and rendered a peaceable adjustment of it more difficult. The blame of that failure must be heavy somewhere; and as at present advised, we fear a large share of it rests upon our own government. We have not yet seen the whole of the correspondence, but it appears certain,—

1. That while the British Minister offered more favorable terms than had ever been offered before, the American government offered *less* favorable terms than had been offered before.

2. That when it became evident that there was little prospect of adjusting the dispute by compromise, the British Minister offered to submit it to arbitration; and that this offer was rejected by the American government.

3. That the negotiation was broken off by the American government, and not by the British Minister. As a pretext for this act, it is said that Mr. Pakenham had made use of offensive language.

From these data, we infer that the responsibility of the failure of the late negotiation rests chiefly with our own government. We wish the case were otherwise,—but truth is truth, notwithstanding. Had the overtures of the British Minister been met in a corresponding spirit; had our government advanced instead of retreating; it is not improbable that further concessions would have been made on behalf of Great Britain; but the dead recoil of those first presented, naturally discouraged any further attempts in the same direction. The avowed object of the negotiation was, to adjust the dispute on the terms of "compromise." Compromise implies *mutual* concession. It is true that neither party was bound by the concessions offered in former negotiations; yet it was reasonable to expect that no proposition less favorable than had been offered before, would now be made. Had Great Britain done this, it would have been deemed little better than an insult. Why should we not be bound by the same rule? If either party had announced in advance, its purpose to deduct from the concessions it had formerly made, without adding an equivalent in some other way, we may safely say that the negotiation would not have been entered upon. It were better that it had not been entered upon, than to result as it has.

And what does our government propose, in this unhappy state of things? Having virtually shut the door both to negotiation and reference, what does it recommend as a substitute? Nothing distinctly; but as a preliminary measure, it recommends the giving of immediate notice to England, of our wish to terminate the joint occupancy. This being done, the joint occupancy will cease, according to the Treaty, at the end of one year from the date of such notice; after which, each party will be at liberty to take possession of any or all of Oregon, as it may see fit. The rest need not be told. It will follow as a matter of course.

As the case now stands, we do not care how soon the notice is given; being convinced that nothing but the most urgent necessity, if even that, will induce an adjustment of the dispute on equitable terms. Before such an adjustment can take place, each party must be prepared to make *what it deems* a liberal sacrifice; because each, being accustomed to look only on its own side of the argument, and not allowing sufficient weight to the other, deems its own title clearer and better than it is.

But what folly! for two great nations to rush to the verge of destruction, (with a pretty fair chance of being precipitated down the abyss,) just for the sake of compelling themselves to do what they ought to be willing and de-

sire to do without compulsion. How much better to be just, or even generous, now, when they can do it with honor, and with a saving of millions upon millions on the score of expense. Even the *preparation* which would and should be made in this country, if we anticipate war with Great Britain, would cost us an out-lay of \$50,000,000. England is already arming; but as she is always obliged to keep extensive land and naval forces in pay, she can "prepare" without so great a sacrifice.

But what are sacrifices, we may be asked, where the national honor is concerned? Nothing; but what then? That word "honor" is greatly abused. It is made the pretext for half the wars, and murders, and outrages of all sorts, with which the world is filled. Doubtless our honor should be carefully guarded. But let us be sure that what we call honor is not infamy. We say a man is honorable in his dealings, when he takes no undue advantage of his fellow man; when he is as willing to do justice, as he is to receive it. Nations are but companies of individuals. The public sentiment of the world pronounces a verdict of approval upon generous acts of individual nations, and condemns the opposite. When a nation is so punctilious in regard to an uncertain boundary, that sooner than make a reasonable abatement from its claims for the sake of peace, it will turn half the world into an Aceldama, under the pretence of defending its own honor, the world pronounces that nation a bad neighbor and a public nuisance. Its verdict is just. Let not the United States be that nation; no, nor yet England.

A disputed territory, i. e. a territory to which neither of the claimants can pretend to a perfect title, is eminently a case for adjustment by compromise. To call such a compromise, (supposing it to be a fair one) a surrender of *our* territory, or a portion of it, is an abuse of language and of fact. That is not wholly ours, to which we have not a perfect title. In adjusting the Oregon question by compromise, we no more surrender *our* territory, than Great Britain does *hers*. And this remark holds good, whether we consider the title of the two claimants equal, or unequal.—Whether, with the Washington Union, we consider the title of each as good to one part of Oregon as to any other part, or whether (as we think is unquestionably true) the British title is best to the Northern part, and ours to the Southern and Central. In either case, Great Britain "has rights" in Oregon; and so far as they extend, it is her territory—in the same sense as it is ours to the extent of our rights. The *principle* of compromise has been sanctioned by every Administration which has had anything to do with the subject, not excepting that of President Polk.

Although his offer of the 49th degree, with the freedom of any port in Vancouver's Island South of that latitude, has been withdrawn, and although the negotiation in its present shape is virtually at an end, yet we cannot suppose him so bent on ruin for himself and his country, as to be unwilling to resume the negotiation in another form. But whether Great Britain will, of her own motion, make any new overture of the kind, is very doubtful, to say the least. If Mr. Pakenham has conformed strictly to his instructions, and if his course in other respects is approved by the British government, the only chance for the renewal of the negotiation, is through the intervention of a third power. Such an intervention, it is to be hoped, may yet be offered, should it be found necessary. In the mean time, it becomes the friends of peace and humanity in both countries, to make their influence felt, by every means in their power. The spirit of war must be discountenanced and denounced, as a means of redress too vile to be adopted by civilized nations, under any circumstances, at the present day, and, least of all, under circumstances like the present, when the only difference is about a strip of poor land at the ends of the earth.

If this subject could be approached, even now, on *both sides*, with a spirit as generous and noble as that which actuated the negotiators of the Ashburton Treaty, the result would be equally happy. The two countries might then congratulate themselves that no other boundary question ever could arise between them: the whole line from the Atlantic to the Pacific, being established permanently and forever. It is not too much to hope that this most desirable consummation may yet be realized.

THE OVERLAND ROUTE TO INDIA via TRIESTE.—The success of Mr. Waghorn's experiment of bringing the Indian mail by way of Trieste has excited great interest both in Paris and London. The Austrian Government is very desirous to establish the new route, and the French authorities seem alive to the importance of taking means to accelerate the passage of the mails through France.

In a letter to the editor of the *Times*, Lieutenant Waghorn gives the following particulars of his journey:—

"In the first place, the *Semiramis* steamer was nineteen instead of seventeen days between Bombay and Suez, thus a loss of two days to my express. Again, we were six days and a half between Alexandria and Trieste, in consequence of head winds and heavy seas the whole way (the common passage in five days), hence again a loss of one day and a half; thus three days and a half have been lost in this express upon the sea passage, by which the express should have reached London in twenty six days, instead of twenty nine days and a half.

"It is generally supposed that I arrived at Trieste in the Austrian steamer; such is not the fact. I steamed to the extreme finish of the Adriatic, viz., Dwino, which is twelve miles nearer London than Trieste, and a steamer can reach within twenty yards of that place.

"I may now mention, sir, an extraordinary instance of Austrian alacrity and attention. His Excellency the Governor of Trieste, Count Stadion, Chevalier de Bruck, the head of the Austrian Lloyd's Company, and all the *élite* of the merchants, &c., of Trieste, were waiting for me at Dwino, though at the hour of half-past twelve at night, and one of the darkest I ever experienced: we were guided only to Dwino by the rockets sent up by them. My passport was given by order of the Emperor of Austria, and countersigned at Vienna by the representatives of Belgium, Prussia, Baden, and Bavaria, countries through which I passed; indeed, I was not asked a question throughout the journey.

"I shall shortly be in a position to offer to her Majesty's Government and the East India Company a series of trials again by this route for three or six months certain, as they think proper, in order to take away those doubts which may yet remain about the Trieste route. My opinion is, that the three or six trials, when determined upon, will average twenty-five days between Bombay and London; and again I have to mention, that when the present steam ships for the Bombay line, now in course of completion in the Thames and Clyde are placed between Suez and Bombay, the route *via* Trieste will then be brought down to five days less; and, ere two years, I feel convinced that despatches will be in London on the 21st day from Bombay."

Among the passengers in the *Cambria*, is Prof. S. F. B. Morse, who is bearer of very important despatches to our Government from the U. S. Legation

in Prussia, Belgium, and England. Mr. Morse has in charge the ratified Treaty between Bavaria and the United States, transmitted by Mr. Wheaton, U. S. Minister at Berlin; also, the proposed Commercial Treaty between Belgium and the United States. He has likewise despatches for the Department of State, and for the Post Master General, from Mr. McLane, our minister at the Court of St. James. In the same steamer came Rufus Prime, Esq., of New York, bearer of despatches from the U. S. Legation in Paris, to the Department of State.

The Duke of Wellington has sent out orders to abolish temperance and all other societies in her Majesty's regiments.

Sir Richard Vivyan has denied that he is the author of the Last Vestiges of Creation.

The Bank of England has raised the rate of discount to 3½ per cent, a movement that has had a tendency to arrest all further speculation in railway stock.

ACTIVITY IN THE DOCKYARDS.—Such is the demand, at the present time, for shipwrights, at her Majesty's dockyards at Portsmouth, that our city is placarded, offering liberal wages and a free passage to forty good workmen.—*Chester Courant.*

ELOPEMENT IN HIGH LIFE.—The papers are full of details connected with the elopement of Lady Adela Villiers, daughter of the Earl of Jersey, with Capt. Ibbotson. The lady is eighteen, the gentleman six and twenty. The elopement was planned at Brighton. The lovers made their way to Gretna Green, the usual rendezvous of fugitive lovers, where they were married by the Blacksmith, twenty-four hours before the hue and cry reached Cupid's Vulcan. The young lady's brother, on arriving at the scene, found the young couple had fled further North.

FRANCE.—The appointment of Marshal Soult to the Presidency of the Council has at length been officially announced in the *Moniteur* by a royal ordonnance.

The same paper contains the appointment of General St. Yen, who is raised to the peerage, as Minister of War.

An important expedition is shortly to take place against Madagascar. Government is talking of embarking 8,000 infantry, with marine artillery. Several steam frigates will likewise be joined to the expedition. The same letter states that a naval division, under the command of the Prince de Joinville, is to be sent to the coast of Morocco as soon as the spring arrives.

ALGIERS.—Some grand razzias have signalled the re-appearance of Marshal Bugeaud in Algeria. The natives fly at his approach, and leave the country desolate. In some instances, it is probable, they leave their cattle behind them, and afford the French an easy triumph.

Letters have arrived, which state that five tribes have revolted in Morocco, and openly espoused the cause of Abd-el-Kader. On the other hand Marshal Bugeaud is acting with a severity and a determination that throw into the shade all his previous doings. The razzias, the wholesale devastation, spoliation, and, it is supposed, extermination, he is performing and contemplates, will appal the stoutest heart. With the means he possesses, and which will be immensely increased, it is hardly possible that he can fail to impose French rule once more in Algeria.

WAR-OFFICE, Nov. 11.—4th Regt of Drag Gds—Lt J. Cunningham, from 32d Ft to be Lt, v Townsend who exchs. 7th Lt Drags—Lt T H Preston, to be Capt by pur v Sutton, who rets; Cor J Hely, to be Lt by pur v Preston. Cor and Adj E Ireland to have the rank of Lt, Cor W Ricardo, to be Lt by pur v Miles, who rets; W Babington, Gent to be Cor by pur v Hely; W C Cooke, Gent to be Cor by pur v Ricardo. 1st Ft—F Evans Gent to be Ens by pur v Halsey, who rets. 3d Ft—Ens D Stewart to be Lt by pur v Downing, who rets; Ens R G A Luard fm 51st Ft to be Ens, v Stewart. 8th Ft—W P Howell, Gent to be Ens by pur vice Loader, who rts. 23d Ft—Lt F E Evans, to be Capt by pur vice Willoughby, who rts; Sec Lt J Vincent, to be first Lt by pur v Evans; E Howell, Gent to be sec Lt by pur v Vincent. 32d Ft—Lt J G Townsend, fm 4th Drag Gds to be Lt v Cunningham, who exchs. 34th Ft—Lt A C Robertson to be Capt by pur v Heathcote, who rets; Ens D M Fyfe, to be Lt by pur v Robertson; W Scott, Gent to be Ens by pur v Fyfe.—35th Ft: J Bickerstaff, Gent to be Ens by pur v O'Callaghan, app to the 51st.—39th Ft: Ens H E Reader, to be Lt without pur v Devonport, dec; B Hume, Gent, to be Ens v Reader.—51st Ft: Ens E O Callaghan fm 35th Ft, to be Ens v Luard, app to 3d Ft.—55th Ft: Bvt Maj. A O'Leary, to be Maj without pur v Bvt Lt-Col N Maclean, who rets upon f.p.; Lt H T Butler, to be Capt v O'Leary; Ens J J Gordon, to be Lt v Butler.—57th Ft: Capt W F Harvey, fm 84th Ft to be Capt v McCarthy, who exchs.—66th Ft: Ens H R Holmes, to be Lt, by pur v Langton, who rets; N Kendall, Gent to be Ensign by purchase vice Holmes.—67th Foot: Lieutenant T B Tuile, from 2d West India Regiment to be Lieutenant vice M'Donagh who exchs. 76 F—Capt R Gardiner to be maj without pur v Brev Lt Col R F Martin, who rets upon f.p.; Lt J B Flanagan, to be cap, v Gardiner; En R H H Keightley, to be Lt, v Flanagan; J C Clarke, Gent, to be En v Keightley. 79th F—Lt H M'Neal, to be Capt by pur v Smith who rets; Ens H A Murray, to be Lt by pur v M'Neal; A C Smith, Gent, to be En by pur v Murray. 84th F—Capt W J M'Carty, fm 57th F, to be cap v Harvey, who exchs. Ens G W Muriel to be Lt without pur v Somerville, dec: Ens R C Stewart, to be Lt, whose prom has been cane; C Collins, Gent, to be Ens v Stewart. 98th F—Lt H T Richmond, to be adjt, v Grantham, who res the adjcy only. 2d W I Regt—Lt J M'Donagh, fm 67th Ft, to be Lt v Tuile, who exchs. Brevet.—Capt G M'Gregor of the Bengal Artl, to be maj in the army in the E Indies; First Lt H L L Thuillier, of the Bengal Artl (an officer to the Hon E India Comny's depot at Warley,) to have the local and temporary rank of Lt in the army, while so employed, v Pogson. Memorandum—The appt of C P King, Gent, to be sec Lt in the 21st Ft has been cane.

OFFICE OF ORDANCE, Nov. 8.—Ryl Regt of Artl: Sec Lt F Vansittart to be First Lt, v Lucas, res.

WAR-OFFICE, Nov. 14.—8th Regt of Ft: Lt J L Marsden to be Capt by pur, v Malet, who rets; Ens J Stone to be Lt by pur, v Marsden; E D Lyon, Gent, to be Ens by pur, v Stone.—16th Ft: E J Kennedy, M D, to be Assist Surg.—18th Ft: J H Dwyer, A B, to be Assist Surg, v Fraser, who res.—44th Ft: W H Mansfield, Gent, to be Ens by pur, v Dunkin, who rets.—55th Ft: T S Brown, Gent, to be Ens without pur, v Gordon, prom.—79th Ft: Lt W M'Call to be Capt by pur, v Douglass, jun, who rets; Ens O Graham to be Lt by pur v M'Call; H J Street, Gent, to be Ens by pur, v Graham.—93d Ft: Ens R H J Stewart to be Lt by pur, v Douglass, prom in 2d W I Regt; W F A Elliott, Gent, to be Ens by pur, v Stewart.—Rifle Brigade: A W Clifton, Gent, to be Sec Lt by pur, v Tindling, who rets.—2d W I Regt: Lt G Douglas, fm 93d Ft, to be Capt by pur, v Nicolls, who rets.—Rl Canadian Rifle Regt: Lt E S Claremont to be Capt by pur, v Jones, who rets; Ens W H Kingsmill to be Lt by pur, v Claremont; W C Friend, Gent, to be Ens by pur, v Kingsmill.

Exchange at New York on London, at 60 days, 81-8 a 82-8 per cent. prem.

THE ANGLO AMERICAN.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1845.

The Mail Steamship, *Cambria*, has brought our English files up to the 19th ult.; anticipations had been entertained of serious embarrassments if not of actual disturbances in consequence of the alleged deficiencies in the crops and of the mischiefs attendant upon one of the most important esculents used for human food. The intelligence now brought tends not a little to diminish the general apprehension on that score, and there is not much upon other subjects of a nature to create serious uneasiness.

The previous news from England was certainly not a little alarming; privy councils of daily occurrence, the probability of a famine the theme of every observation, the lateness of the season which threatened to preclude the hope of supplies from America, the consciousness that from elsewhere none need be expected, the confident expectation that ministers must inevitably and promptly open the ports, and that Ireland especially must be succoured without delay,—all these were agitating the hearts of millions, and no wonder that, on this side of the water, men were anxious to know how these matters were proceeding.

They have been proceeding *very quietly*, and seem to have resulted in—nothing; the cabinet councils are broken up and not a word is known of their deliberations; the ports have *not* been opened, neither is there any sensible rise in the price of either bread stuffs or any other provisions, the Irish are clamorous on account of the failure of their staple article of food, and the minister does not declare the determination of any special step for their relief; yet for all this, we neither find intestine division nor the rumour of strife.

In short, we suspect that there have been gross exaggerations put forth on these subjects, and, whilst it cannot be denied that the agricultural produce is much short of the requirements of so dense a population as that of the British empire at home, there are resources at hand of which the multitude are not aware, but of which, sagacious ministers, who ought to know everything under peculiarly enlarged views, are aware at least so far that they can leisurely pursue the measures they best approve, and who will not increase the public agitation by exhibiting agitation in themselves.

It is asserted that, in the first place, Sir R. Peel, who undoubtedly is a sagacious minister, has ascertained to his own conviction the real state of the crops in England;—that, in the second, the Potatoe crop in Ireland has suffered more in proportion than in positive diminution of Irish wants; for that although there is a greater per centage of loss and destruction than usual, yet that a considerably larger area has been *planted* in Ireland this year, consequently the loss has to be deducted from a much larger gross estimate;—and that, thirdly, the minister has good reason to believe that large quantities of American flour and other perishable commodities either are or speedily will be in British ports; consequently there will be no occasion to throw those ports open with too great haste, as probably much will have to be sold at the best prices which can be obtained, or otherwise it is there at hand should circumstances render it expedient hereafter to open the ports. It is added that the Premier is strengthened in this forbearance by the opinion of the Duke of Wellington, who objects to the Cabinet taking the onus of such a measure as throwing open the Ports, when the time of Parliamentary session is at hand.

The old soldier is prudent; and he is right. There will not be any sudden outbreak among the people, even if their fears be *not* exaggerated, because they know that relief is close at hand; the sense of Parliament will be pretty nearly that of the people at this time, for it is nearly the close of the parliamentary career and members must ere long face their constituents; there are many reforms among the hitherto corn-law men; the ministry will get through the crisis by public legislation, without being themselves the directly responsible agents of the measures which may be adopted; and Sir R. Peel will get quit both of the difficulties which hamper his longings after Free trade and (probably) of old man who, like that of Sindbad in the Arabian Nights Stories, hangs perpetually on its neck, and almost chokes him.

We are happy to perceive, meanwhile, that many an Irish Landlord, and many an Englishman having estates in Ireland, is opening his heart and purse—and these too in no mean or stinted manner, in commiseration of the woes, present or expected, of the Irish poor. The sums given by many of these cannot severally be expressed in fewer than four figures, and the gifts are unaccompanied by pharisaical trumpetings and hyperbolic expressions, but by wise advice and assistance in laying those munificent gifts out to the best advantage. In the midst of all this, what is the benevolence of the agitator; of the man who has so long been the creature of these poor people's bounty; who has been enriched, fattened, glorified by them! What gives he!—Not a farthing!

THE TRIALS OF NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS.

It will be seen by the following "Caution," which we copy from the *Albion* of last week, that "Agents of the other papers" have been committing "depredations to some extent" upon our contemporary. If the old adage be true, that "misery loves company," perhaps it will be some satisfaction to our neighbour to know that we have our annoyances also—but we will give the extract:—

"NOTICE.—CAUTION.

"It is made known to us that efforts are making by agents of the other papers, to show that the *Albion* is in some measure connected with them; and that there is an identity of interest between their journals and ours. We therefore deem it necessary to declare, that such statements are false and totally unfounded. The *Albion* is not, in any manner whatever, connected with any other journal; nor is any other publication issued by us except the Old Countryman and reprint of Chamber's Journal.

"The *Albion* remains, as it has done for the last twenty years, under the exclusive ownership of Dr. Bartlett, and is solely directed by him; and he is not engaged in editing any other publication. We therefore beg that our friends and subscribers will treat persons making the false representations before mentioned, as knaves and impostors.

"As depredations to some extent, have been carried on against us under

such pretences, we shall feel obliged to any gentleman who will give us information touching any such case, together with the names of the parties in order that we may take the necessary steps for contradicting them, and exposing their fraudulent designs."

We cannot imagine who the parties here alluded to can possibly be; but if ours be included in the expression "the other papers," and any agent of ours has so far forgotten himself as to make the representations spoken of, we promise that if authentic information of the fact be furnished to us, such agent shall have no further opportunity of committing "depredations" on our contemporary. So far as to the trials of our neighbour, now for our own.

The following is extracted from a letter from a friend, dated Toronto, March 10, 1844:—

"Dr. Bartlett's agent (Nimmo) says that I am attempting to get subscribers for a paper called the American or Anglo something, published by a man named Paterson and another called Garvin, the first a great Radical and the other a Yankee. * * * He says Dr. Bartlett instructed him to say so."

It would seem by the above that our neighbour gives his orders in good military fashion, and his agents have nothing to do but to obey. The next extract we shall give is from a letter from an agent, dated Buffalo, 1845:—

"Dr. Bartlett's agent stated to Mr. S— that the Anglo American would not be long before it went down—it was a poor concern altogether, and advised him not to pay for this year in advance, and gave him to understand if he did he would not get the paper. Mr. S— is willing to take oath upon this."

This is not the first time that our voracious neighbour has put forth the same prophecy—we remember that some two years ago similar news was sent in a confidential letter to Norfolk, Va.; but then our time was set—we could not live six months. We are very sorry that we cannot so far please our neighbour as to die off, in order to verify his prophecy.

The next extract we shall make is of a rather different character—it is taken from the letter of a private friend, dated Cobourg, C.W., Oct. 21, 1845:—

"The Albion is driving a double team of agents through Canada this Fall, and if impudence, assurance, and meanness, entitle them to success they can but succeed. A few evenings ago, at the "Globe," I met this team in the reading-room, which was crowded with gentlemen. One of the agents was holding forth upon the merits of the two papers, the Anglo American and the Albion—and to judge from appearances the latter certainly deserved the preference, for it was perfectly clean, while the Anglo looked as though it had been read by the whole village, from the Schoolmaster down to the Cobbler—yet notwithstanding its appearance (the reason why it was so was perfectly plain) a vote was taken and there was a large majority in favour of the Anglo, only one man and a boy voting for the Albion. I have seen more coats without buttons this week than I have ever witnessed before in this town. These fellows are truly mean, they disputed their bill at the hotel."

We shall now give an extract of a letter from an agent, dated Fredericksburg, Va., Nov. 30, 1845:—

"I have been informed by several gentlemen here (our Subscribers) that they have been grossly deceived by Dr. Bartlett's agent in regard to our print—he showing them what he pretended was one of the best copies of our "Sir Walter," when in fact it is a spoiled impression, soiled to make it look worse. Through this means he has got two of our subscribers."

We think the above proves satisfactorily that the "agents of the other papers" have been committing serious "depredations" on us also. We have room to give but one more extract this week; it is from a letter dated Richmond, Va., Dec. 3d, 1845:—

"I have just found out that the agent of the Albion goes to the Post-office, gets the names of the Subscribers to the Anglo American, and calls upon them. This seems to be the object of his visit, as the Albion had another agent here a few weeks ago. He has done a poor business in Richmond, and I am happy to say the Anglo stands A No. 1 here."

It appears that in this case the "agents of the other papers" tried to commit "depredations to some extent" against us, but some how or other he could not succeed.

We think the above extracts demonstrate that we have suffered as much (in annoyance at least) from the "agents of the other papers" as our contemporary could have experienced. But we have told but a small part of the story. We have said nothing of the slanders whispered privately in the ears of all who would listen; neither have we mentioned the private letters (some of which we have now in our possession) that have been written, containing nothing but slander. In fact it would be an endless and disgusting task to detail all our annoyances from the "agents (and proprietors) of the other papers." For the present, at least, we will leave the subject, for we are heartily sick of it.

NATIONAL LOAN FUND LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY OF LONDON.—The following letter, which we publish with the consent of the parties, was transmitted a few days since to the General Agent of this society.

The promptness with which this large loss has been paid, speaks favourably for the soundness and good management of their institution:—

PROVIDENCE, R.I., Nov. 21, 1845.

Hon J. Leander Starr:—Dear Sir,—We have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of ten thousand dollars, (less the interest 90 days,) being the amount of a policy of life insurance effected by Amory Chapin, late of this city, at the National Loan Fund Life Assurance Society of London, through your Agency in the city of New York.

The very prompt and obliging manner in which this claim has been satisfied, and the liberal principles upon which the affairs of the society are conducted, justly entitle it to the consideration and patronage of the public, which is being more generally engaged upon the subject of Life Insurance in the U. States.—We are very respectfully, yours,

PARIS HILL and ORRAY TAFT, Executors.

Our readers will find the advertisement of the above society in another column.

EXPRESS LINE.—We learn from the Albany papers that arrangements have been made by Messrs. Livingston & Wells, with the Railway companies West of Albany, for the use of a portion of one of the baggage cars in each train, which is to be fitted up with every necessary convenience; each car to be provided with an iron safe.

* * The public matters in our columns this week has obliged us, much to our regret, to crowd out a great many local matters which we had prepared, and to which we shall refer in a future number.

* * Our esteemed correspondent at Whitesboro' will be attended to at the very earliest opportunity.

Music and Musical Intelligence.

MR. BURKE'S CONCERT.—We were agreeably and very greatly surprised on Friday night by Mr. Burke's performances on the Violin. We have witnessed the progress of this remarkable artist at various times for the last sixteen years; from the time when he was a wonderfully precocious boy, trundling his hoop in the neighbourhood of the Surrey Theatre, to the present hour when he stands forth amongst instrumental artists of the highest grade, managing the instrument of the rarest delicacy and greatest difficulty in the whole range of practical music. We confess to the misgivings in our mind that one who might have become callous to emotion by having been before the public, a spoiled child, from almost the moments of infancy, and who had been tolerated all that time in bad or at best mediocre fiddling, would hardly have given due and close attention to all the niceties of the violin, even with the best teacher in the world, and then come out a first-rate, spirited, yet delicately executing artist, charming ears the most fastidious, and judgment the most refined. Mr. Burke has great self-possession, therefore he plays with sufficient nerve, and he must have much musical feeling for he plays with expression. He stops most correctly, and his bow hand is exquisite, particularly in the up-stroke.

He made, however, two mistakes in propriety on the evening of his Concert. When encored in the last piece of the first part, he should have contented himself with the apology that it was too fatiguing to play it again, and should not have given the Irish song. That was undignified. In the second part, when he was encored after playing the very curious and ingenious "Etudes" he should have either played them again, or excused himself for not doing so, but he should not, instead, have played another subject; although the latter was sweet and well played it was not the thing called for.

We were exceedingly delighted with Mrs. Loder, particularly in the "Dove song" of Mozart, which she sang with elegant taste and great effect.

MR. HUBER'S SECOND CONCERT.—This delightful artist gave his second Concert on Tuesday evening last at Palm's Italian Opera House. He was assisted by Mdle. Huber, Madame Otto, Herr Boucher, and M. Gibert; M. Etienne presiding at the Pianoforte. We can but observe that all our previous pleasurable impressions were repeated on the occasion, and that Mr. Huber stands confirmed a musician of the very first class. He makes the violoncello sing most intelligibly, and never once condescends to trick or mere brilliancy unconnected with musical art. We understand that he will proceed Southward and may probably visit Havana; we can confidently commend him to every amateur of music, and we predict him a high and merited success.

MR. TEMPLETON'S FAREWELL CONCERT.—This also took place on Tuesday evening, and, like all that he has given, was truly a bumper. The vocalist was in excellent voice and was loudly applauded.

Literary Notices.

MARTIN'S ILLUSTRATED FAMILY BIBLE.—The 14th number of this superb Family Bible is now before us. The engraving, "Solomon's Idolatry," which embellishes this number, is a perfect gem; it fully confirms the testimony of Dr. Knox "That it will be one of the most beautiful, instructive, and valuable family bibles any where to be found in the English language." The 14th number will be issued on the 15th inst.

THE FOSTER-BROTHER, A TALE OF THE WAR OF CHIOZZA.—Edited by Leigh Hunt—New York: Harpers.—This is the maiden production of Mr Thornton Hunt, son of the distinguished essayist whose name is prefixed as Editor; the English reviewers speak in very enthusiastic terms of the work as one of great power and dramatic skill,—in no small measure worthy of his father's genius.

THE NEW ILLUMINATED BIBLE.—The Messrs. Harper are continuing to add to the splendid attractions of their Illustrated edition of the Bible; in every new issue the master-hand of Adams' is strikingly apparent—especially in the recent numbers. We also understand with the closing numbers the Publishers will present their subscribers with a series of superbly Illuminated Titles, Frontispieces, Family Records, &c. The binding will be correspondingly rich and ornate, three costly and elaborate designs for the cover being in preparation to suit the various tastes of purchasers. Altogether this truly imposing work will possess claims far above the numerous publications usually designated for presentation during the approaching holidays.

THE PASTORAL LIFE AND MANUFACTURES OF THE ANCIENTS.—N. York: Harpers.—The range of topics which this volume embraces is extremely interesting, and comprises some of the most important branches of commerce. We are so pleased with the remarks of a contemporary that we adopt them as our own. "Imposing and splendid as this beautiful volume is in its mechanical department, its true value is not apparent at first sight." It treats of such topics as "the culture of silk, cotton, wool, linen and other fibrous substances, including observations on spinning, dyeing and weaving; also an account of the pastoral life of the ancients, their social state and attainments in the domestic arts, with appendices on Piny's natural history; the origin and manufacture of linen and cotton paper, felting, netting, &c. The prodigious amount of information gathered from a still more prodigious variety of sources, which this important work presents, evinces the extraordinary labour of the author. This elegantly illustrated volume is equally adapted to the lady's boudoir, the merchant's counting-room and the private library: its pages are luminous with deeply interesting anecdotes and curious information, as well as with most novel and highly valuable historical and mercantile data. The publication reflects great honour upon the taste of the publishers."

A MARINE HARLEQUIN.

Most of our old theatrical professionals remember William Elliot, a man of extraordinary versatility as an actor, being at all times as ready to assume the bat of the Harlequin as the baton of the Ghost in *Hombert*. Poor fellow! his last change from this mortal scene was on the 20th ult., at his residence in Holywell-lane, Shoreditch, in the 57th year of his age. He had been latterly acting manager at the Britannia Saloon, Hoxton, and contrived to "husband out life's candle to its close," upon very limited means. From his childhood he had been on the stage, and his experience in every walk of the drama gave him a knowledge of theatrical business which few of his contemporaries could boast. He was for several years a valuable adjunct to the eccentric Robert William Elliston, when he was manager at Birmingham, and other provincial towns, and was always at his command to go on for any part in a case of necessity or emergency, as the following veritable anecdote will sufficiently prove:—

A pantomime had been advertised at some country town; but on the day on which it was to be played a chest of theatrical wardrobes, including the Harlequin's dress, that had been ordered from London, did not arrive, owing to some forgetfulness on the part of the manager respecting some monetary considerations, to which he was habitually subject. Just before the performance commenced a council of war was held in the manager's room, to which Elliot, who was to play Harlequin, was summoned:—

"I have it, my dear boy," said the manager, pouring out a glass of wine for his devoted victim, "I have it—but take a glass of wine first—come, another—a glorious idea, sir—splendid, by G—d! Another glass, my dear boy—only require your assistance to get us out of this dilemma."

"Certainly, sir, I shall be most happy—anything in my power I'll do with pleasure."

"Then!" cried Elliston, endeavoring to preserve his gravity, and grasping Elliot's hand warmly between both his—"Then the thing is done, my dear fellow; you have only to peel off, and allow the scene-painter to paint your skin to resemble the Harlequin's dress, it will never be discovered by the audience."

"Paint myself like a wild Indian, sir!" exclaimed the astonished actor.

"Well, well!" cried Elliston, with one of his blandest smiles.

"No, no, like a Harlequin, my friend," replied Elliston, calmly; "a few patches of color and sprinkling of gold and silver leaf over your body—nothing in life easier."

"Sir!" said Elliot, indignantly, "I'm astonished at your proposition; you know I never object to anything in reason to oblige you; I've gone on in all manner of dresses at a pinch, but I'll by d—d if ever I appear in a coat of paint!"

"Sit down; we must see what can be done, since you demur to the ancient British costume. Hold! I think I have it now. Did you ever play a marine Harlequin?"

"Never, sir," answered Elliot.

"Never! then you shall do so this evening. There's a sailor's dress in the wardrobe—go, and equip yourself with it this moment, and come to me on the stage."

Elliot, who did not perceive that the first proposal was only intended as a decoy to make him offer no opposition to the scarcely less absurd one of the marine Harlequin, hastened to obey the artful manager's directions. In a few minutes he was at the wing, ready dressed, where Elliston was waiting; he pressed his hand with significant warmth, and without giving his victim time to inquire what he meant to do, led him on the stage before the audience, whom he addressed in the following manner:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen—It has been the study of my life to make such improvements in dramatic representations as might make them deserving of the patronage of an enlightened and intelligent assemblage of Englishmen, such as I now have the honor of addressing. ('Bravo, Elliston, from a stage carpenter, whom the manager had sent round to the gallery.) Pantomime, ladies and gentlemen, has engaged my particular attention. I can confidently assure you that this most ancient branch of the drama does not owe its origin to the Venetians, as generally supposed, but to the Phœnicians—the venerable Phœnicians, ladies and gentlemen—who, as you all know, were a powerful maritime nation. (Hear, hear.) A celebrated classic writer, with whom you must all be perfectly well acquainted, says distinctly '*Harlequino sed opus quibumflestris cognovit oceanis*'—which I need not tell you means—that Harlequin was the first midshipman on the ocean: I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that a marine Harlequin is not only the most historically correct, but the most congenial to the feelings of British bosoms. (Great cheering.) Acting on that conclusion, I have banished for ever the motley plebeian vagabond that has so long been a disgrace to our stage and an insult to the country that gave birth to the greatest naval heroes that ever graced the pages of history. (Prolonged and prodigious cheering, during which Elliston, placing his hand upon the left side of his waistcoat, bowed repeatedly to the house.) Ladies and gentlemen, I need say no more—except—there stands my Marine Harlequin—(pointing to Elliot)—such a Harlequin as you meet on board his Majesty's fleet. He will go through all the manœuvres, tricks, and changes that have been usually exhibited by his spangled professor, and I have no doubt he will prove himself worthy the attention and applause of an audience whose loyalty will never shrink from supporting

'The flag that brav'd a thousand years
The battle and the breeze.'

A deafening peal of applause was the reply to this stirring speech, and as Elliston withdrew, bowing with the utmost humility to the audience, he winked his off eye at the confounded Harlequin, and, in a *sotto voce* said—

"I'll bet one hundred pounds to ten you don't do a better *trick* with your bat than I have done with my tongue to-night."

In Pierce Egan's original drama of *Life in London*, produced at Sadler's Wells, under Mr. Egerton, April 5th, 1822, Elliot performed Corinthus Tom one hundred and thirty-five nights in succession, supported by Bob Keeley as Jerry, and Sam Vale as Logic. Few men have performed such an immense variety of characters, and many of them excellently well, as the late Mr. Elliot.

The Mandarin and the English Lady.—The degraded position of females in China is well known. Nothing astonishes the Chinamen who visit our merchants at Hong-kong so much as the deference which is paid by our countrymen to their ladies, and the position which the latter are permitted to hold in society. The very servants express their disgust at seeing our ladies permitted to sit at table with their lords, and wonder how men can so far forget their dignity. A young English merchant recently took his youthful wife with him to Hong-kong, where the couple were visited

by a wealthy mandarin. The latter regarded the lady attentively, and seemed to dwell with delight on her movements. When she at length left the apartment, he said to the husband, in his imperfect English, "What you give for that wifey wife yours?" "Oh," replied the husband, laughing at the singular error of his visitor, "2,000 dollars." This our merchant thought would appear to the Chinese rather a high figure, but he was mistaken. "Well," said the mandarin, taking out his book with an air of business, "'spose you give her to me, I give you 5,000 dollars." It is difficult to say whether the young merchant was more amazed or amused, but the grave air of the Chinaman convinced him that he was in earnest, and he was compelled, therefore, to refuse the offer with as much placidity as he could assume. The mandarin was, however, pressing, and went as high as 7,000 dollars. The merchant, who had no previous notion of the value of the commodity which he had taken out with him, was compelled at length to declare that Englishmen never sold their wives after they once came into their possession, an assertion which the Chinaman was slow to believe. The merchant afterwards had a hearty laugh with his young wife, when he told her that he had just discovered her full value, as the mandarin had offered him 7,000 dollars for her. Liverpool Albion.

DR. BRANDRETH'S PILLS.

DYSPEPSIA.—To soothe the sufferings of humanity, to ameliorate the pangs of disease, is the grand object of medical science. This is efficiently demonstrated in the healing virtues of DR. BENJAMIN BRANDRETH'S PILLS. The cures effected by this medicine would fill volumes.

Views on indigestion as a source of various Undefined and Irregular Nervous Sensations.

"His, small at first, grow larger from delay.
And slowly eat their sad and cankering way;
Thus by successive throes, the frame is torn,
Till health and peace of mind alike are gone."

The nerves of the human body—those necessary and mysterious agents which immediately connect man with external nature—are singularly prone to have their functions disordered by an oppressed condition of the stomach; the minute termination of that portion of the nerves expanded upon the organs of digestion conveying the morbid impression to the Brain. And although the Head can, undoubtedly, like other organs, be the seat of primary disorder, yet, in the great majority of cases, the uneasy sensations there experienced are symptomatic of disordered Stomach; and, further, there is abundant evidence to prove that crudities in the Stomach and Bowels can, in every grade of human existence give rise to spasmodic action in every organ of the body; and whether we survey it in the agonising form of Tic Doleureux—the alarming convulsions of the Epileptic seizure—or in that irritable condition of the nerves of the heart occasioning nervous palpitation—they can all frequently be traced to the source above mentioned, and be cured by mild evacuant and tonic remedies. To relieve a state of so much suffering and distress, (in which body and mind also participate) BRANDRETH PILLS are confidently recommended; as, by combining aromatic tonic and cleansing properties, they remove all oppressive accumulations, strengthen the Stomach, induce a healthy appetite, and impart tranquillity to the nervous system; and, in fact, by their general purifying power upon the blood, exert a most beneficial influence in all cases of disease.

Remember, Druggists are not permitted to sell my Pills—if you purchase of them you will obtain a counterfeit.

Dr. Brandreth's Principal Office for these celebrated Pills is at 241 Broadway; also, at 274 Bowery, and 241 Hudson Street, New York; Mrs. Booth's, No. 5 Market Street, Brooklyn.

MARTIN'S
ILLUSTRATED FAMILY BIBLE,

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REV. ALEXANDER FLETCHER, D.D.

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PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS.

THIS number is now ready. The work evidently improves as it progresses, and it promises to be the most perfect of the kind ever published. The Engraving for the present number is "And Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord," a most superb Engraving from a Painting by Vienghels. GEO. VIRTUE, 26 John-st.

COMPLIMENTARY CONCERT.

At a meeting held (pursuant to previous call, by some of the leading members of the musical profession,) on Tuesday last, the 2d of December, at the Coliseum, for the purpose of taking steps for arranging a Complimentary Concert, as a testimonial to the unwearied zeal, and candid judgment of Mr. A. D. Paterson, Editor of the Anglo-American, in this city, upon the subjects of Music, and the Fine Arts in general,

LUTHER B. WYMAN, Esq., in the Chair,
GEORGE LODER, Secretary;

It was resolved,

1st. That this meeting consider Mr. A. D. Paterson well deserving the thanks of all professors and amateurs of the arts, for his constant and anxious solicitude for their encouragement; and of the public generally, for his endeavors to promote the cultivation of that which adorns and gratifies social life.

2nd. That a Complimentary Concert be tendered to Mr. A. D. Paterson, which shall be of a style of grandeur and interest indicative of the sense which this meeting would express of their approbation and respect for him.

3rd. That Messrs. U. C. Hill, George Loder, J. L. Ensign, A. Dodworth, Alfred Boucher, H. C. Timm, Thomas Goodwin, Luther B. Wyman, and D. G. Etienne, be requested to prepare a programme, and arrange such matters as may be necessary to carry out the designs of this meeting, at their earliest convenience.

4th. That Henry Jessop, Esq., be requested to act as Treasurer, and that the following gentlemen, who have offered their services, be appointed a committee, with power to add to their numbers, whose business shall be to forward the ends of this meeting in giving interest an éclat thereto.

A. Barclay, Esq., H. B. M. Consul and Ex-President of the St. George's Society of New York.

W. D. Cuthbertson, Esq., President of the St. George's Society.

Thomas Dixon, Esq., Ex-President of do.

Joseph Fowler, Esq., do do.

Henry Jessop, Esq., 1st Vice President of do.

Septimus Crooks, Esq., 2nd Vice President of do.

Robert Bage, Esq., Treasurer of do.

Henry Owen, Esq., Secretary of do.

Henry Dixon, Esq.

M. Mottram, Esq.

Thomas F. Green, Esq.

James K. Bradbury, Esq.

John Spawforth, Esq.

R. F. Frazer, Esq.

Frederick West, Esq.

T. S. Cummings, Esq., N. A.

J. R. Walter, Esq.

Dr. M. Levett.

Wm. Scharfberg, Esq.

The members of the Music Committee are requested to attend a meeting at the Carlton House on Tuesday, the 4th instant, at half past 2 P. M. By order,

[Dec. 6.]

GEORGE LODER, Secretary.

A. Rieff, Esq.

H. Otto, Esq.

O. H. Mildeberger, Esq.

Dr. V. Mott, Jun.

T. S. Chambers, Esq.

A. Stodart, Esq.

Charles Vyse, Esq.

Edward Payson, Esq.

Joseph Rhodes, Esq.

R. S. Seaton, Esq.

MUSIC COMMITTEE:—

U. C. Hill, Esq., President of Philharmonic Society.

George Loder, Esq., Vice President of do.

J. L. Ensign, Esq., Secretary of do.

Allan Dodworth, Esq., Treasurer of do.

Thomas Goodwin, Esq., Librarian of do.

H. C. Timm, Esq., 1st Assistant Officer of do.

A. Boucher, Esq., 2d do do.

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Louis A. Godey, Esq.	
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ALEXANDER E. HOSACK, M.D., 101 Franklin Street. } New York.
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A Medical Examiner is in attendance at the office daily, at 12 o'clock noon, and 3 o'clock, P.M. Fee paid by the Society.
(Sept. 6.) J. LEANDER STARR, General Agent.

MASTIC CEMENT.

MESSRS. J. & H. FRANKLAND and THOMAS HARRIS beg to recommend to the attention of all persons interested in buildings, their much approved Mastic, which is the most durable and beautiful composition ever yet invented for covering the exterior of dwelling houses or public buildings, in imitation of marble or stone; no lime or water enters into the composition of the Mastic, which consists of boiled linseed oil, of a thick consistence, which, with the oxides and carbonate of lead, and other ingredients, forms a cement impervious to water, hard as a stone, and of great durability. Specimens may be seen and every information given on application to
Nov.15-3m. CHAS. H. MOUNTAIN, Architect, 17 Wall-st., N.Y.

N.B.—Mr. C. H. Mountain has at present a vacancy in his office for a youth who has a taste for drawing.

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WILLIAM LAIRD, Florist, 17th Street, 4th Avenue, (Union Square), N.Y., has always on hand, and for sale at moderate prices, Greenhouse plants of all the most esteemed species and varieties; also, hardy Herbaceous Plants, Shrubs, Grape vines, &c. Orders for Fruit and Ornamental Trees, supplied at the lowest rates. Bouquets of choice flowers tastefully put up at all seasons.

N.B.—Experienced Gardeners to lay out and keep in order gardens, prune Grape, &c. Gentlemen supplied with experienced Gardeners, and Gardeners of character with places. Ap.20 1f.

GOLD AND SILVER WATCHES, RETAILED AT WHOLESALE PRICES, BY J. T. WILLISTON, Dealer in Watches, No. 1 Courtlandt Street, Up-stairs, cor. Broadway.—All Watches sold at this establishment, warranted to perform well, or the money refunded. Watches, Clocks, Musical Boxes, and Jewelry, repaired in the best manner at the lowest prices. Arrangements have been made with Mr. Wm. A. Gamble, whose reputation as watch repairer is unsurpassed, having been engaged for nine years in the most celebrated manufactories in Europe, enables him to repair the most complicated work that can be produced.

(G) Trade work promptly done on reasonable terms. T. J. WILLISTON, Nov.8-ly. No. 1 Courtlandt Street, Up Stairs.

GUNTER'S DINING SALOON,

No. 147 Fulton Street, New York.

H. H. GUNTER having taken the above house, begs leave respectfully to inform his numerous friends in the City and Country that the Establishment has under his charge undergone a thorough renovation, and it now affords one of the most elegant and eligible places of refreshment in the City, for visitors or those whose business or professional pursuits require them to be in the lower part of the city during the hours of Meals.

H. H. G. would also assure those who may be disposed to favor him with their patronage, that while the viands shall in all cases be the best the markets can afford, the charges will at all times be confined within the limits of the most rigid economy (G) Open on Sundays. Ju 14-6m.

DR. POWELL, M.D.,

Oculist and Operative Surgeon, 261 Broadway cor. Warren Street.

ATTENDS TO DISEASES OF THE EYE, and to operations upon that organ from 9 to 4 P.M. His method of treating AMAUROSIS has been highly successful. This affection is frequently far advanced before the suspicions of the patient are aroused, the disease often arising without any apparent cause, and the eye exhibiting very little morbid change. The more prominent symptoms are gradual obscurity and impairment of vision, objects at first looking misty or confused—in reading, the letters are not distinctly defined, but run into each other—vision becomes more and more indistinct; sometimes only portions of objects being visible, dark moving spots or motes seem to float in the air, flashes of light are evolved, accompanied by pain, giddiness, and a sense of heaviness in the brow or temple, too frequently by neglect or maltreatment, terminating in total loss of vision.

CATARACTS and OPACITIES or Specks on the Eye, are effectually removed. The most inveterate cases of STRABISMUS or SQUINTING cured in a few minutes.

ARTIFICIAL EYES INSERTED without pain or operation, that can with difficulty be distinguished from the natural.

SPECTACLES.—Advice given as to the kind of glasses suitable to particular defects. Residence and offices 261 Broadway (cor. Warren-st.) Sept.13-ly.

FIRST PREMIUM DAGUERRIAN MINIATURE GALLERY,

Corner of Broadway and Fulton Street, New York.

AT this Gallery Miniatures are taken which, for beauty of colour, tone, and effect, can at all times recommend themselves; and which are at least equal to any that have been heretofore executed. M. B. BRADY respectfully invites the attention of the citizens of New York, and of strangers visiting the City, to the very fine specimens of DAGUERRETYPE LIKENESSES on exhibition at his Establishment; believing that they will meet the approbation of the intelligent Public. Mr. Brady has recently made considerable improvement in his mode of taking Miniatures, particularly with regard to their durability and colouring, which he thinks cannot be surpassed, and which in all cases are warranted to give satisfaction. The colouring department is in the hands of a competent and practical person, and in which Mr. B. begs to claim superiority.

(G) The American Institute awarded a First Premium, at the late Fair, to Mr. M. B. BRADY for the most EFFECTIVE Miniatures exhibited.

* Instructions carefully given in the Art.—Plates, Cases, Apparatus, &c., supplied. M. B. BRADY. (Apr.9.)

JOSEPH GILLOTT'S CROTON PEN—A new article, which for elasticity and delicacy of point, surpasses any pen hitherto made by Mr. GilloTT. It possesses a greater degree of strength than other fine pointed pens, thus making of a more durable character.

The style in which these Pens are put up will prove attractive in all sections of this country, each card having a beautifully engraved view of the following points of the Great Croton Aqueduct.

The Dam at Croton River.
" Aqueduct Bridge at Sing Sing.
" " Harlem River.
View of the Jet at
Fountain in the Park, New York.
" in Union Park.

The low price at which these Pens are offered, combined with the quality and style must render them the most popular of any offered to the American public.

JOSEPH GILLOTT'S AMERICAN PEN—An entirely new article of Barrel Pen, combining strength with considerable elasticity, for sale to the trade by
June 8. HENRY JESSOP, 91 John-st.

CHEAP AND QUICK TRAVELLING TO THE WESTERN STATES,

CANADA, &c., FOR 1845,

FROM TAPSCOTT'S EMIGRATION OFFICE,

South Street, corner Maiden Lane.

FALO in 36 hours. CLEVELAND in 60 hours.

DETROIT in 4 days.

MILWAUKIE, RACINE, SOUTHPORT, and CHICAGO in 6 days.

TORONTO, HAMILTON, QUEENSTON, &c., CANADA, in 2 1/2 to 3 days.

THE Subscriber having made arrangements with various first class lines of boats on the Erie, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wabash Canals, Buffalo and Central Railroads, &c., Steamboats on the North River, Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, Steamboats and Railroads to Philadelphia, and Baltimore, &c., are enabled to forward Emigrants and others to any part of the Western States and Canada, in the very shortest time, and at the lowest possible rates.

Persons going West are invited to call at the office and examine the "Emigrant's Travelling Guide," showing the time, distance, rates of passage, extra baggage, &c., to almost any part of the Union. Parties in the country wishing one of the above Guides, will have the same forwarded, or any information will be cheerfully communicated by addressing, post paid,
W. & J. T. TAPSCOTT, South-st.,
My10-1f. corner Maiden Lane.

STEAM BETWEEN NEW-YORK AND LIVERPOOL.

THE Great Western Steam-ship Co.'s steam ship GREAT WESTERN, Captain Matthews; and their new iron steam-ship GREAT BRITAIN, Capt. Hosken, are appointed to sail during the year 1845, as follows:—

FROM LIVERPOOL.			FROM NEW-YORK.		
Great Western	Saturday	17th May	Great Western	Thursday	12th June
Great Western	do	5th July	Great Western	do	21st July
Great Britain	do	2d Aug.	Great Britain	Saturday	30th Aug.
Great Western	do	23d Aug.	Great Western	Thursday	18th Sept.
Great Britain	do	27th Sep.	Great Britain	Saturday	23rd Oct.
Great Western	do	11th Oct.	Great Western	Thursday	6th Nov.
Great Britain	do	22d Nov.	Great Britain	Saturday	20th Dec.

Passage money per Great Western, from New-York to Liverpool, \$100, and \$5 Stewards' fee.

For freight or passage, apply to
New-York, Jan. 27, 1845.

RICHARD IRVIN, 98 Front-street.
My10-1f.

NEW LINE OF LIVERPOOL PACKETS.

TO sail from NEW YORK on the 26th and from LIVERPOOL on the 11th of each month:—

FROM NEW YORK.			FROM LIVERPOOL.		
SHERIDAN, Capt. F. A. Depeyster,	26 Sept.	SHERIDAN, Capt. Depeyster,	11th Nov.		
GARRICK, Capt. B. L. H. Trask,	26th Oct.	GARRICK, Capt. B. L. H. Trask,	11th Dec.		
ROSCUS, Capt. Asa Eldridge,	26th Nov.	ROSCUS, Capt. Asa Eldridge,	11th Jan.		
SIDDONS, Capt. E. B. Cobb,	26th Dec.	SIDDONS, Capt. E. B. Cobb,	11th Feb.		

These ships are all of the first class, upwards of 1100 tons, built in the city of New York, with such improvements as combine great speed with unusual comfort for passengers.

Every care has been taken in the arrangement of their accommodations. The price of passage hence is \$100, for which ample stores will be provided. These ships are commanded by experienced masters, who will make every exertion to give general satisfaction.

Neither the Captains or owners of the ships will be responsible for any letters, parcels or packages sent by them, unless regular bills of lading are signed therefor. For freight or passage, apply to
E. K. COLLINS & Co., 36 South-st., N.Y., or to
BROWN, SHIPLEY & Co., Liverpool.

Letters by the Packets will be charged 12 cents per single sheet, 50 cents per ounce, and newspapers 1 cent each.

Messrs. E. K. Collins & Co. respectfully request the Publishers of Newspapers to discontinue all advertisements not in their names of their Liverpool Packets, viz:—the Roscius, Siddons, Sheridan and Garrick. To prevent disappointments, notice is hereby given, that contracts for passengers can only be made with them. My24-1f.

NEW YORK AND LIVERPOOL PACKETS.

SAILING from NEW YORK on the 11th, and from LIVERPOOL on the 26th of every month:—

FROM NEW YORK.			FROM LIVERPOOL.		
Ships.	Captains.		Ships.	Captains.	
WATERLOO,	W. H. Allen,	Nov. 11, Mar. 11, July 11	Dec. 26, Apr. 26, Aug. 26		
JOHN R. SKIDDY,	Wm. Skiddy,	Dec. 11, April 11, Aug. 11	Jan. 26, May 26, Sep. 26		
STEPHEN WHITNEY,	Thompson,	Jan. 11, May 11, Sept. 11	Feb. 26, Jun. 26, Oct. 26		
VIRGINIAN,	C. A. Heirn,	Feb. 11, June 11, Oct. 11	Mar. 26, Jul. 26, Nov. 26		

The qualities and accommodations of the above ships, and the reputation of their commanders, are well known. Every exertion will be made to promote the comfort of passengers and the interests of importers. The owner will not be responsible for any letter, parcel, or package, sent by the above ships, for which a bill of lading is not signed. For freight or passage, apply to
ROBERT KERRIT, 76 South-street. My24-1y.

NEW YORK AND LIVERPOOL LINE OF PACKETS.

SAILING from New York on the 6th, and from Liverpool on the 21st of each month, excepting that when the day of sailing falls on Sunday the ship will be dispatched on the succeeding day.

FROM NEW YORK.			FROM LIVERPOOL.		
Ships.	Captains.		Ships.	Captains.	
Ashburton,	H. Huttleston,	Jan. 6, May 6, Sept. 6	Feb. 21, June 21, Oct. 21		
Patrick Heary,	J. C. Delano,	Feb. 6, June 6, Oct. 6	Mar. 21, July 21, Nov. 21		
Independence,	P. P. Allen,	Mar. 6, July 6, Nov. 6	Apr. 21, Aug. 21, Dec. 21		
Henry Clay,	Ezra Nye,	April 6, Aug. 6, Dec. 6	May 21, Sept. 21, Jan. 21		

These ships are of a very superior character; are not surpassed either in point of elegance and comfort of their cabin accommodations, or for their fast sailing qualities; and offer great inducements to shippers, to whom every facility will be granted.

They are commanded by experienced and able men, whose exertions will always be devoted to the promotion of the convenience and comfort of passengers. The price of passage outward is now fixed at \$100, for which ample stores of every description will be provided, save Wines and Liquors, which can at all time be obtained upon application to the Stewards.

Neither the Captains or Owners of the Ships will be responsible for any Letters, Parcels, or Packages sent by them, unless regular Bills of Lading are signed therefor. For freight or passage, apply to
GRINNELL, MINTURN & Co., 78 South-st., N.Y., or to
CHAPMAN, BOWMAN & Co., Liverpool.

My31-1f.

LONDON LINE PACKETS.

TO SAIL ON THE 1ST, 10TH AND 20TH OF EVERY MONTH.

THIS LINE OF PACKETS will hereafter be composed of the following ships, which will succeed each other, in the order in which they are named, sailing punctually from New York and Portsmouth on the 1st, 10th and 20th, and from London on the 7th, 17th and 27th of every month throughout the year, viz:—

FROM NEW YORK.			FROM PORTSMOUTH.		
Ships.	Captains.		Ships.	Captains.	
St. James	F. R. Meyers	Jan. 1, May 1, Sept. 1	Feb. 20, June 20, Oct. 20		
Northumberland	J. H. Griswold	10, 10, 10	10 March 1, July 1, Nov. 1		
Gladstone	R. L. Bunting	20, 20, 20	10, 10, 10		
Mediator	J. M. Chadwick	Feb. 1, June 1, Oct. 1	1, 20, 20		
Switzerland	E. K. Night	10, 10, 10	10 April 1, Aug. 1, Dec. 1		
Quebec	P. B. Hobard	20, 20, 20	10, 10, 10		
Victoria	E. K. Morgan	March 1, July 1, Nov. 1	20, 20, 20		
Wellington	D. Chadwick	10, 10, 10	10 May 1, Sept. 1, Jan. 1		
Headrick Hudson	G. Moore	20, 20, 20	10, 10, 10		
Prince Albert	W. S. Sapor	April 1, Aug. 1, Dec. 1	10, 20, 20		
Toronto	E. G. Tinker	10, 10, 10	10 June 1, Oct. 1, Feb. 1		
Westminster	Hovey	20, 20, 20	10, 10, 10		

These ships are all of the first class, and are commanded by able and experienced navigators. Great care will be taken that the beds, wines, stores, &c., are of the best description.

The price of cabin passage is now fixed at \$100 outward for each adult, without wines and liquors. Neither the captains nor the owners of these packets will be responsible for any letters, parcels or packages sent by them, unless regular bills of lading are signed herefor. Apply to
GRINNELL, MINTURN & Co., 78 South-st., or to
JOHN GRISWOLD, 70 South-st.

OLD LINE OF LIVERPOOL PACKETS.

THE Old Line of Packets for Liverpool will hereafter be despatched in the following order, excepting that when the sailing day falls on Sunday, the ship will sail on the succeeding day, viz:—

FROM NEW YORK.			FROM LIVERPOOL.		
Ships.	Masters.		Ships.	Masters.	
Cambridge,	W. C. Barstow,	June 1, Oct. 1, Feb. 1	July 16, Nov. 16, Mar. 16		
England,	S. Bartlett,	June 16, Oct. 16, Feb. 16	Aug. 1, Dec. 1, April 1		
Oxford,	J. Rathbone,	July 1, Nov. 1, Mar. 1	Aug. 16, Dec. 16, April 16		
Montezuma, (new)	A. W. Lowber,	July 16, Nov. 16, Mar. 16	Sept. 1, Jan. 1, May 1		
Europe,	A. G. Farber,	Aug. 1, Dec. 1, April 1	Sept. 16, Jan. 16, May 16		
New York,	Thos. B. Cropper,	Aug. 16, Dec. 16, April 16	Oct. 1, Feb. 1, June 1		
Columbus,	G. A. Cole,	Sept. 1, Jan. 1, May 1	Oct. 16, Feb. 16, June 16		
Yorkshire, (new)	D. G. Bailey,	Sept. 16, Jan. 16, May 16	Nov. 1, Mar. 1, July 1		

These ships are not surpassed in point of elegance or comfort in their cabin accommodations, or in their fast sailing qualities, by any vessels in the trade.

The commanders are well known as men of character and experience; and the strictest attention will always be paid to promote the comfort and convenience of passengers. Punctuality as regards the days of sailing, will be observed as heretofore.

The price of passage outward, is now fixed at \$100, for which ample stores of every description will be provided, with the exception of wines and liquors, which will be furnished by the stewards if required.

Neither the captains or the owners of these ships will be responsible for any letters, parcels or packages sent by them, unless regular bills of lading are signed the efor.

For freight or passage, apply to

GOODHUE & Co., 64 South-street, or
C. H. MARSHALL, 38 Burling-slip, N. Y.,

SANDS'S SARSAPARILLA.

FOR THE REMOVAL AND PERMANENT CURE OF ALL DISEASES ARISING FROM AN IMPURE STATE OF THE BLOOD, OR HABIT OF THE SYSTEM.

The operation of this preparation is three-fold. It acts as a tonic, strengthening the digestive power and restoring the appetite, as an aperient, peculiarly suited and gentle in its laxative effect, and as an antiseptic, purifying the fluids of the body, and neutralizing in the blood the active principle of disease. The many well authenticated cures of Scrofula of the most malignant character, wrought by Sands's Sarsaparilla, have given it a well deserved celebrity. But it is not alone in Scrofula nor in the class of diseases to which it belongs, that this preparation has been found beneficial. It is a specific in many diseases of the skin, and may be administered with favourable results in all; it also exercises a controlling influence in bilious complaints; and when the system has been debilitated either by the use of powerful mineral medicines or other causes, it will be found an excellent restorative.

The following interesting case is presented, and the reader invited to its careful perusal. Comment on such evidence is unnecessary.

"TRUTH IS STRANGER THAN FICTION."—LET THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.—The following certificate is only another link in the great chain of testimony to its merits. Let the afflicted read and be convinced; what it has done once, it will do again.

Charlestown, Mass., Sept. 23, 1845.

This may certify that my son, now aged seventeen, has been for ten years afflicted with the Scrofulous Humor. At the age of seven years he had the measles, which probably caused this humor to make its appearance in a most singular way, covering his body from his head to his feet with small tumors. I consulted a Doctor of Medicine, and he examined him three days in succession, and not understanding his case, advised me to consult Dr. Rogers, of New York, I then being a resident of that city. After a long and critical examination, having more than thirty other medical gentlemen with him at the time, he pronounced it Scrofula, or King's Evil. The child was then prescribed for, and commenced taking medical drugs from that time. He grew worse until June of 1837, and then his bones became affected in consequence of the mercury that had been given him. A piece of bone came away from his under jaw, in the first place, as large as an English walnut, a piece from his forehead as large as a sixpence, and a piece from near the crown of his head. It then went to the back and side, and discharged in three places. From thence to one of his limbs, separating, in consequence of the ulceration, the muscles and cord from the bones of the ankle joint on the back part. He had at one time fifteen running sores or issues from the glands of the throat and those places I have mentioned. In 1840 I lived in Portsmouth, N.H., and he was attacked with a Rheumatic Fever, which settled in one of his hips, which swelled as large as three of the other. Being under medical treatment, they gave him laudanum until he lost his reason—then I became alarmed and sent for a Thompsonian. This medicine helped his hip and restored his mind and reason. The third time he was attacked with this fever in 1842, when hearing of Dr. Sands's Sarsaparilla, and being perfectly satisfied that all other medicines had failed of effecting a cure, I sent and procured six bottles, and by the time he had taken it all I considered him well. Those places healed—he became bright and lively—colour came to his face and lips—from that time till the fall of 1844 his complaints never troubling him. At that time he became deaf, which continued until last March, when his right eye became affected; from that to the left eye, covering the sight of the eye so that he was in a great measure deprived of sight.

Knowing that Dr. Sands's Sarsaparilla was the only medicine that had ever done him any good, I applied to Mr. Fowle, Apothecary at Boston, for more. He has taken fifteen dollars' worth, which has removed the humor from his eyes and hearing, and he now appears to be cured, and radically so. I verily believe all this latter trouble might have been avoided if I had continued thoroughly the use of Dr. Sands's Sarsaparilla when he was under the influence of the medicine the first time.

These are the simple statements of the facts of the case, and I feel it my duty to make those facts known to the public, for the benefit of those who may be afflicted in like manner: feeling a full conviction the cure has been effected solely from the effect of this invaluable medicine.

HANNAH W. BECK, 228 Main st.

Suffolk, Mass., Oct. 13, 1845.—Then personally appeared the above-named Hannah W. Beck, and made solemn oath that it is above certificate, by her subscribed, and statements therein contained, are true.—Before me,
JAMES RICE,
Justice of the Peace.

For further particulars and conclusive evidence of its superior value and efficacy, see pamphlets, which may be obtained gratis.

Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, by
A. B. & D. SANDS, Druggist, 79 Fulton-st., 273 Broadway, 77 East Broadway, N.Y.
Sold also by Druggists generally throughout the United States and Canada. Price \$1 per bottle, six bottles for \$5. John Holland & Co., Montreal; John Musson, Quebec; J. W. Breckinridge, S. T. Urquhart, Toronto; T. Bickle, Hamilton, Canada; Agents for the Proprietors by special appointment.

The public are respectfully requested to remember that it is Sand's Sarsaparilla that has and is constantly achieving such remarkable cures of the most difficult class of diseases to which the human frame is subject, and ask for Sand's Sarsaparilla, and take no other.
J119-1f

PARR'S LIFE PILLS.

READ the following testimonials in favor of PARR'S LIFE PILLS, which have been selected from hundreds of similar ones on account of their recent dates:—
Extract of a Letter from Mr. Sinclair Tousey, Postmaster of Joslin's Corners, Madison County, N.Y.

November 4th, 1844.

Messrs. Thomas Roberts & Co.—Gentlemen—I am requested to state to you, that Mr. T. W. Sturdevant, of Amsterdam, expresses his great satisfaction at the efficacy of Parr's Life Pills. Also, Mr. J. Fairchild, ofazenovia in which opinion Mr. A. Blumley, of Chittenango, also fully accords. Indeed, these Pills have superseded all others in New York state—they are not a brisk Pill, but "slow and sure," and I have never yet met with an instance where an invalid has persevered in taking them, that has not been cured of the most obstinate and long-standing dyspeptic diseases.

(Signed)

S. TOUSEY.

Messrs. Thomas Roberts & Co.—Gents.—Having used Parr's Life Pills on several occasions when attacked by violent bilious complaints, and having been fully satisfied of their efficacy, I beg leave in justice to you, as proprietors of the medicine, to testify much.
Yours respectfully,
WM. H. HACKETT

Long Island, Nov. 9, 1844.

New York, Nov. 2, 1844.

Sir—As I have received so much benefit from the use of Parr's Life Pills, I feel it duty I owe to this community, to make the facts in my case public. I was afflicted for 15 years with dyspepsia and erysipelas. I tried remedy after remedy, but none appeared to afford me any relief. At last I was induced by a friend to try a box of Parr's Life Pills, which I did, and before I had taken two boxes I found great relief. I have since taken three boxes more, and now thank God, I find myself perfectly cured of the erysipelas, and greatly relieved of the dyspepsia. Judging from my own case, I sincerely believe Parr's Life Pills is the best medicine for the above complaints, and likewise as a family medicine, yet offered to the public—I remain,
Yours respectfully,
ELIZABETH BARNES, No. 19 Sixth Avenue, N.Y.

From our Agent in Philadelphia

ASTONISHING CURE OF LIVER COMPLAINT.

Messrs. T. Roberts & Co.—Gentlemen—Having received the greatest benefit from the use of Parr's Life Pills, I can give you my testimony in their favour without the least hesitation. For the last five years I have been afflicted with the Liver Complaint, and the pains in my side were great, attended with considerable cough, a stopping and mothering in the throat; for three weeks before I used the Pills I was completely reduced, and had become so weak as to be almost unable to walk; and I could not sleep more than two hours of a night, so completely was my system under the influence of my complaint. I have spent over two hundred dollars for medical attendance, and all the different kinds of medicines celebrated for the cure of the Liver Complaint, without having received any permanent relief, and I can say now that since I have been using Parr's Life Pills, I have been in better health than I have experienced for the last five years. I am also stronger, I sleep as good as ever I did, and can walk any distance. Any person who doubts these statements as incorrect, by inquiring of me shall receive more particular information.
JOSEPH BARBOUR,
Poplar Lane, above Seventh Street, Spring Garden, Philadelphia.

Sold by the Proprietors, THOMAS ROBERTS & Co., 9 Crane Court, London, and 117 Fulton Street, New York, and by all respectable Druggists in the United States, [Mr. 15-1f]